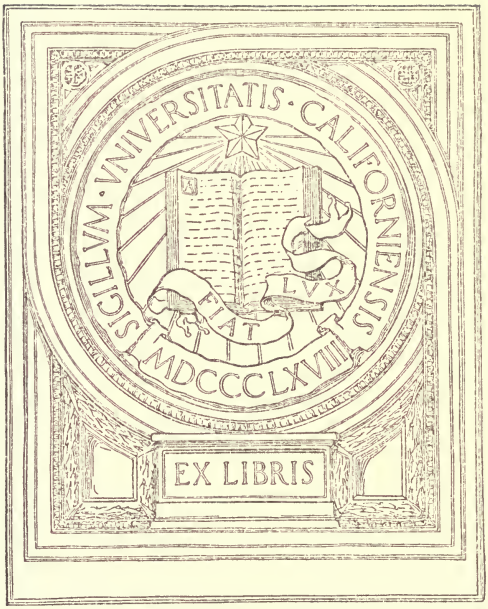
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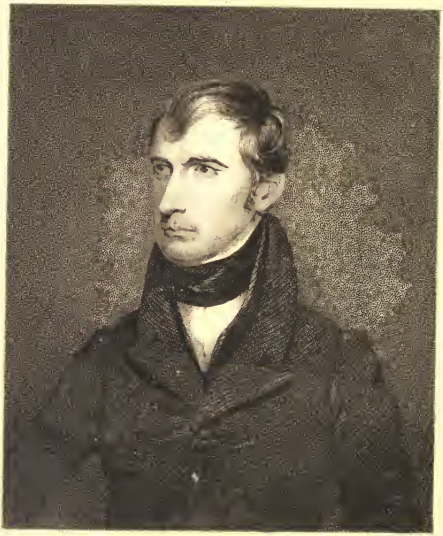

A MEMOIR

OF

THE PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

OF OHIO.

BY JAMES HALL.

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PREFACE.

In preparing for the press a work lately published, containing sketches of the History of the Western States, the author became possessed of a large number of facts, connected with the public services of General Harrison. They would properly have formed a part of the work alluded to; but as that had already swelled to a larger size than had been anticipated, as these would form in themselves a connected narrative, and as they relate to an individual whose name is now placed before the people of the United States, under circumstances calculated to awaken curiosity in regard to his history—it has been thought best to arrange these materials into a separate volume. It is mostly a compilation from other writers; among which the author especially acknowledges his obligations to Dawson, the biographer of General Harrison; and to M'Affee, the historian of the late war.

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Harrison's birth, parentage, and education.

It is one of the happiest results of our republican institutions, that no individual can claim respect on account of his parentage. The property accumulated by the industry of the parent may be transmitted to his offspring; every man has a right to dispose, as he pleases, of the fruit of his own labour, and the law facilitates and sanctions its descent to those who stand nearest to the possessor in consanguinity and affection. But the good name of an honest man, or the fame of an illustrious citizen, is earned by his own deeds; it is neither gained by inheritance, nor bestowed by devise.

If any class of citizens may with propriety indulge the pride of ancestry, it is those who are descended from the distinguished patriots and virtuous men, who, by their talents, their sacrifices, and

their blood, have become justly numbered among the benefactors of their country. The sages and heroes of the American Revolution were engaged in a noble enterprise, which they carried triumphantly to a successful termination, by an exertion of wisdom, patience, courage, and forbearance, rarely paralleled in the history of the world. They disinterestedly and fearlessly exposed their lives, and jeoparded their fortunes, for their country, and for posterity—for a country too poor at that time to reward them for their services, and in a cause too uncertain to promise any immediate personal advantages to those who bore the heat and burthen of the struggle. Their contemporaries could admire their magnanimity; it is for *us*, who are reaping the rich harvest of their patriotic labours, to testify the gratitude of a generous people, by holding their names in everlasting honour; and when a descendant from that venerated stock combines in himself qualities worthy of admiration, his claim to the respectful consideration of his countrymen, is at least not diminished by the advantage of such a parentage. By many it would be considered as greatly enhanced, and the services of a distinguished patriot would derive additional lustre from the fact that he had trodden in the footsteps of an equally illustrious father, whose unbought and unrequited services had been freely given to the nation, in its day of peril and weakness. Less than this we

could not say, in allusion to the eminent person whose biography we are about to place before the public—himself a warrior and statesman of no mean repute, and the son of one who was conspicuous among the founders of the American republic.

The lives of public men, who have participated largely in affairs of general interest, form a part of the history of their country, and should be recorded with careful fidelity, for the instruction of those who follow after them. To no one does this remark apply more justly than to General Harrison, who has filled with honour the highest places in the gift of his country, and been an efficient actor in many of the most important national transactions which have taken place since the revolution. His public career has been long and eventful; nearly his whole life has been devoted to the service of his country. He is one of the very few remaining among us, the commencement of whose career is dated back to the first days of the republic, who have grown up with our political character and public institutions, have witnessed the gradual advance of our country from infant weakness to mature prosperity, and who form the connecting link between the generation which secured our liberty, and that which is enjoying its fruits. Reared up among the patriots of the revolution, under the pure and vigorous counsels of republican simplicity—appointed to his first office by the sagacious

Washington—and enjoying successively the confidence of the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, he may truly be said to have been taught and trusted in the purest school of democracy.

William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia, in the year 1773, and among his relations are numbered some of the most distinguished men of that state. His father was Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, to whose ardent zeal and intrepidity that body of patriots were greatly indebted for their harmonious organization. In the Biography of the signers of the declaration of independence, an incident is recorded, which, with the explanation we are enabled to add, is highly illustrative of the disinterested love of country which animated the public men of that day. When Mr. Hancock was appointed to succeed Peyton Randolph as President of Congress, it is said, that, "with a modesty not unnatural at his years, and a consciousness of the difficulty he might experience in filling a station of such high importance and responsibility, he hesitated to take the seat. Mr. Harrison was standing beside him, and with the ready good-humour that loved a joke, even in the Senate house, he seized the modest candidate in his athletic arms, and placed him in the presidential chair; then turning to some of the members around, he exclaimed, 'We will show mother Britain how little we care for her, by mak-

ing a Massachusetts man our president, whom she has excluded from pardon by public proclamation.'"* The truth is, that a large portion of the members of that Congress wished to call Mr. Harrison to the chair, vacated by the death of his brother-in-law Peyton Randolph; but with noble self-denial, and admirable judgment, he declined in favour of John Hancock, and insisted on his taking the post of honour. The latter, not to be outdone in generosity, was willing to give way to the Virginia delegate, when the amicable controversy was terminated in the manner described, and a coolness between Virginia and Massachusetts avoided, which might have resulted, had a contest for the most conspicuous place in Congress been permitted between the distinguished delegates from those colonies. Benjamin Harrison afterwards filled the executive chair of Virginia, at a period when every energy of a great and powerful mind was necessary to keep up the spirits of his countrymen.

William Henry Harrison, the third and youngest son of the illustrious patriot, whose name we have mentioned, was born the 9th of February, 1773, in Charles City county, Virginia, and was educated at Hampden Sydney College. He inherited from his father little save his noble example, and a name

* Waln's Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

identified with the great struggle for liberty. His education having commenced during the storms of the revolution, he imbibed the sentiments of republicanism, and of resistance to oppression, which have always influenced him in his career through life. Dependent on his own exertions, he applied himself with great ardour to the study of medicine, and was about to graduate as a practitioner, when he conceived the idea of serving his country as a soldier, in the western wilderness. Being under age, his guardian, the celebrated Robert Morris, used every exertion to induce him to continue his studies; for that penetrating statesman discerned, even then, in his young friend, the germs of a noble character, and was desirous of giving him all the advantages of scientific attainment, which our country could afford, and of placing him in a profession, for which he considered him peculiarly fitted by his talents, the kindness of his nature, and the suavity of his manners. The desire of the young student to distinguish himself in the defence of our western frontiers, under the accomplished but unfortunate St. Clair, predominated; and President Washington, who had been the intimate friend of his father, sanctioned his views, and gave him an appointment in the army.

Thus, although young Harrison was connected with those who were affluent, he commenced his eventful career in life, without the advantages of

fortune. Embracing a profession which seldom opens the way to wealth, he threw himself into the ranks of patriotism, and gave his energies to his country, with a patriot's devotion. His was not the service of a holiday soldier. He lingered not in the cities, to sport the gaudy habiliments of the warrior in the resorts of fashion and dissipation. The nation was too poor to support its officers in idleness; and the independent spirit of Harrison would not permit him to lead a life of useless indolence. He began, at the early age of nineteen, to act the part of a man on the great theatre of life, and to build up the fabric of his fortunes. Selecting a dangerous and laborious field of exertion, he proceeded at once to the post of honour and duty, and entered upon that perilous and active career of usefulness, in which he has continued to be engaged, with but little interruption, up to the present time.

CHAPTER II.

Situation of the North-western Territory previous to Wayne's campaign—Intrigues of the British—Defeat of Harmer and St. Clair—Appointment of Wayne — Organization of the Legion.

The war in which Mr. Harrison first met the enemies of his country, may properly be considered as a continuation of the great struggle for independence. When peace was concluded with Great Britain in 1783, many of the Indian tribes, who had been in alliance with that power, refused to lay down the hatchet, but continued to perpetrate their merciless outrages upon the frontier settlements. These had now extended themselves into the beautiful valley of the Ohio, and were spreading rapidly over the fertile lands of that delightful region. About the year 1763, the hardy borderers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, taking advantage of a short season of peace with the Indians, had begun to cluster around the forts at Redstone, Pittsburgh, and Wheeling, and thence spread along the margins of the Monongahela and Ohio, in Pennsylvania and Western Virginia. Previous to the breaking out of the revolution, the savages again

became troublesome; but the gallant pioneers maintained their ground, and when the storm of the revolution thickened around them, they supported these distant outposts with the most obstinate valour.

At a period a little later, and just before the commencement of the revolutionary war, Kentucky and Tennessee began to be peopled from Virginia and North Carolina, and the work of emigration was carried successfully forward during the continuance of that hard-fought struggle. These early adventurers were not only opposed by hostile savages, who fought for the possession of the soil which they had occupied through ages countless to the present historian, but by the wealth, the weapons, and the skill, of our European oppressor. While the armies of the republic were gaining imperishable renown under the standard of liberty, at various points throughout the eastern, middle, and southern states, the patriotic inhabitants of the frontier were not less active; but honourably sustained the common cause, and under the orders of such men as Clark, Sevier, Shelby, Scott, Logan, and other equally gallant leaders, performed many brilliant achievements. When the American recurs with admiration to the eventful story of our contest for independence, it should never be forgotten, that the decisive battle of King's Mountain was fought by riflemen from the western forests, who had

crossed the Allegheny ridge by laborious marches, to aid their oppressed brethren in breaking the yoke of the tory ascendancy, leaving their own homes exposed to the predatory incursions of the savage. Nor are these services to be slightly valued. They formed an important part of the great military drama. The pioneers, by keeping the savages employed on the western waters, held in check an immense mass of merciless warriors, who would otherwise have been poured into the heart of the middle and southern states, destroying the cities, and violating the firesides, of a country which, even without this scourge, was bleeding at every pore. Washington estimated these services at their true value, and Britain never forgave them.

Scarcely had the thunder of artillery ceased to roll over the battle-fields, when the north-western territory began to receive inhabitants. A hardy band from New-Jersey and Pennsylvania founded Cincinnati, a colony of French settled at Gallipolis, and the people of New-England seated themselves at Marietta, and on the Connecticut reserve. Others followed them, and point after point was rapidly occupied; but the war of the revolution was not yet concluded. The harvest was ripened, but not gathered in. The independence of America was acknowledged, but not secured. The billow had rolled over the Atlantic states, but the surge was

breaking upon the forests of the west. Here the tomahawk was still busy.

A calm retrospect of these events must satisfy every unprejudiced mind that Great Britain, in reluctantly consenting to acknowledge the independence of the United States, had been driven by the valour of our fathers into a measure which she was determined to retract, upon the first favourable opportunity. The noble sentiment expressed by her King, at his first interview with Mr. Adams—"I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power"—was not responded by the feelings of his people, or the action of his government. They never relinquished the hope of punishing the rebel, and regaining the country; and unhappily for us, they possessed the means of annoying us, and keeping alive their unhallowed lust for revenge. We were weak, and they were strong. Predominant on the ocean, our commerce was at their mercy; nor did they cease to cripple our trade, to impress our seamen, and insult our flag, until a series of brilliant victories on the ocean had taught them that we had the strength and the spirit to maintain our rights. On the north-western frontier they held a chain of fortresses garrisoned by disciplined troops, and they had a band of trained emissaries moving over the vast wilderness,

and uniting the tribes against us. With the single object in view of repressing the expansion of our population, by depriving us of the traffic with the Indians, and embittering them to acts of outrage, they conciliated them with presents, roused their passions by supplying them with the dreadful means of intoxication, and furnished them with weapons.

This fiendish combination between the civilized and savage man, warring against the social principle and the sacred rights of the fireside, immolating the peaceful citizen, the female, and the helpless infant, upon the altar of revenge,—retarding the spread of the arts, and rolling back the tide of knowledge and religion, continued to operate until it was broken up by the successful valour of an indignant people. The brilliant victories on the northern, north-western, and southern frontiers, redeemed our country from the thraldom of foreign influence, and added the names of Macomb, Scott, Brown, Jackson, and Harrison, with a host of others, to the glorious list of those who fought for independence. Washington and his associates gained the victory, Wayne and his contemporaries improved it, and the military and naval heroes of the last war struck the final blow which rendered it secure and lasting.

From 1783 to 1790, it was estimated that fifteen hundred men women, and children, had been

killed or taken prisoner by the Indians upon the waters of the Ohio; more than two thousand horses were stolen from the inhabitants; houses had been burned, fields ravaged, boats plundered, and property destroyed to an unknown amount. Still the settlements grew, and the gallant pioneers sustained the war with undaunted spirit. The British, in defiance of a solemn treaty, continued to hold military posts within our acknowledged territory, to tamper with the tribes in our limits, and faithlessly to supply the munitions of war, to be used against a civilized people at peace with herself.

Every effort by negotiation having failed to restore peace, Brigadier General Harmer, a most accomplished gentleman and skilful officer, was ordered to advance into the Indian country with a force deemed sufficient to chastise the savages, break up their towns, and force them to peace. The defeat of that gallant officer, after he had accomplished some of the objects of the campaign, and the annihilation of his army by an overwhelming force, carried dismay throughout the frontier, and inspired the Indians with fresh confidence.

A new army was raised, and placed under the command of Major General St. Clair, a veteran and skilful soldier of the revolution, in whom Washington placed entire confidence. The public had become aware of the magnitude of the trust

reposed in this gentleman, and the eyes of the nation were directed towards him with anxious solicitude. They hoped every thing from his talents, experience, and unquestioned courage; they feared every thing from the numbers and ferocity of the enemy, who were rendered audacious by their recent victory. The honour of the federal government was at stake; the confidence of the people in its wisdom, and the respect of foreign nations, could only be secured by striking a successful blow, which should at once blast the corroding influence of the foreign incendiary, and give security to a frontier so long the scene of rapine, conflagration, and slaughter. The result is too well known. A variety of unforeseen and unpropitious circumstances combined to foil the skill of St. Clair; and on the 4th of November, 1791, his gallant army was defeated with great loss, near the Miami villages, by a confederated body of Indians, under the command of the Little Turtle, a consummate warrior, and aided by white auxiliaries from Canada. Upwards of thirty officers, and near a thousand men, were slain. Among the former was General Butler, a distinguished soldier of the revolution.

The defeat of St. Clair filled the whole country with consternation and mourning. A succession of disasters had rendered the war unpopular. The gallant spirits whose inclinations would have led

them to the field, shrunk from a contest so laborious and unsuccessful, in which a victory would yield little honour, while defeat was attended with torture and death in their most horrible forms. To fall by the rifle, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife, had thus far been the fate of those who had ventured upon these perilous wars. The vast expenditures made in the two recent expeditions had drained the treasury, and fallen heavily upon the resources of the country; parties were becoming formed in the nation, and in Congress, for and against the prosecution of war, and the whole aspect of the times was gloomy.

It was a crisis worthy the mind of Washington. To vindicate the honour of the nation, to crush the growing discontent of factions, to rescue the frontier from devastation, and to secure the permanency of the free institutions which had just been established by a long and bloody war, required all the coolness and discrimination of his great intellect.

The war had risen into importance. It had ceased to be a matter of local interest, but had swelled into a national contest, involving danger to the union. The Indians were confederated, and the hand of Britain was seen directing their movements. It became necessary to place our armies under the command of a military chief of consummate abilities and established reputation—one who should be brave, energetic, and fertile in expedient

—a leader of sound judgment, ripe experience, and great prudence, who, besides possessing the highest qualities of the soldier, would command the confidence of the public.

The choice of the President was balanced for a time between two distinguished individuals—George Rogers Clark, and Anthony Wayne. Both had served with brilliant reputation in the revolutionary war—both had rare endowments of intellect and military genius—both had held important separate commands, and had earned the most enviable distinction in daring and successful exploits planned and executed by themselves. The latter was eventually chosen, and by his able conduct in this protracted and dangerous war, added a new laurel to his own wreath, and another to the already existing proofs of the discriminating mind of Washington. With Wayne were associated Brigadier Generals James Wilkinson and Thomas Posey, revolutionary officers of high repute: the former had shown himself an active partisan leader in several recent expeditions against the Indians; the latter had shared for several years the toils and confidence of Wayne, had led a battalion in the desperate assault of Stony Point, and shared the eventful fortunes of *Mad Anthony*, from the icy plains of the Canadian frontier, to the burning sands of Georgia.

A writer who seems to have been intimately

versed in this subject, has given the following description of the formation of Wayne's Legion. "On the 25th of May, 1792, General Wayne having been furnished by the Secretary of War with the instructions of the President, in which it was emphatically expressed, 'that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the government,' took leave of his family and friends, and repaired to Pittsburgh, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the troops, where he arrived early in June. By a new organization, the army was to consist of one major general, four brigadier generals and their respective staffs, the commissioned officers, and 5120 non-commissioned officers and privates, the whole to be denominated 'The Legion of the United States.' The legion to be divided into four sub-legions, each to consist of commissioned officers named, and 1280 non-commissioned officers and privates. The previous army having been nearly annihilated, a new one was to be recruited. Most of the experienced officers having been slain in the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, or resigned their commissions, the labours of the commanding general were augmented to an extent which nothing but the most unwearied patience and ardent zeal could have performed. Many of the officers, as well as of the soldiers, had yet to learn the rudiments of their profession. The organization of the troops, military tactics, discipline,

&c., devolved so far upon the general as to leave him scarcely time, without infinite labour, to keep up the correspondence incident to his station. His efforts were indefatigable; and it is impossible at the present day to form an adequate idea of the difficulties he had to encounter, the labours to perform, and the obstacles to surmount. So panic-struck was the whole country" (meaning that part of it distant from the scene of danger,—for the pioneers stood firm) "at the repeated and bloody successes of the enemy, that an engagement with them was looked to as certain defeat. A perfect horror seemed to seize the recruits, when marched from the rendezvous where they had enlisted, and their faces turned to join the army. In a letter to the Secretary of War, dated Pittsburgh, 20th July, 1792, General Wayne says, 'The detachment under Major Ashton arrived at this place on Monday; Lieutenant Campbell's, with Stokes' dragoons, and Captain Faulkner's riflemen, on Tuesday. I am, however, sorry to inform you of the alarming desertion that prevailed in Ashton's detachment and Stokes' dragoons. Not less than fifty of the former, and seven of the latter, deserted on their march between Carlisle and Pittsburgh.'

"Another fact will show the degree of terror that the name of Indian had inspired, and the extraordinary difficulties the general had to surmount, to introduce obedience, self-confidence, and courage.

A letter to the Secretary of War, dated Pittsburgh, 10th of August, 1792, says, 'Desertions have been frequent and alarming. Two nights since, upon a report that a large body of Indians were close in our front, I ordered the troops to form for action, and rode along the line to inspire them with confidence, and gave a charge to those in the redoubts which I had recently thrown up in our front, and on the right flank, to maintain their posts at any expense of blood, until I could gain the enemy's rear with the dragoons; but such was the defect of the human heart, that from excess of cowardice, one-third of the sentries deserted from their stations, so as to leave the most accessible places unguarded.'

"By the salutary measures adopted to introduce order and discipline, the army soon began to assume its proper character. The troops were daily exercised in all the evolutions necessary to render them efficient soldiers, and more especially in those manœuvres proper in a campaign against savages. Firing at a mark was constantly practised, and rewards given to the best marksmen. To inspire emulation, the riflemen and infantry strove to excel, and the men soon attained to an accuracy that gave them confidence in their own prowess. On the artillery, the general impressed the importance of that arm of the service. The dragoons he taught to rely on the broadsword, as all important to vic-

tory. The riflemen were made to see how much success must depend on their coolness, quickness, and accuracy; while the infantry were led to place entire confidence in the bayonet, as the certain and irresistible weapon, before which savages could not stand. The men were instructed to charge in open order; each to rely on himself, and to prepare for a personal contest with an enemy. The confidence inspired, and rapid improvement in discipline, are frequently mentioned with pleasure in the letters of the commanding general written during the autumn; but the season was too far advanced before a reasonable force could be collected to warrant active operations."*

We have entered into this detail to show the perilous and unpromising nature of the service to which young Harrison devoted his youthful energies. It could not have been the desire of an indolent life, nor the indulgence of a puerile vanity, which led the youthful candidate for fame into scenes so fraught with danger and hardship. The service was neither popular nor inviting. Toilsome marches in the wilderness, incessant watching, coarse fare, uncertain supplies, awaited these gallant adventurers under the most favourable event of the campaign, while a reverse of fortune would

* Extracted from an able article in Atkinson's Casket for 1830.

bring torture, death, or a cruel captivity. A youth reared in affluence, surrounded by friends, and with fair hopes in prospect, who resigned all these advantages to serve his country on the frontier at that gloomy period, must have been gifted with a high courage and generous patriotism, which elevated him above the selfish motives which ordinarily govern human conduct.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Harrison's first appointment—His services under St. Clair and Wilkinson—Wayne's campaign.

Mr. Harrison received his first commission as an ensign in the first regiment of United States artillery, then stationed at Fort Washington, and immediately set out to join the army. He arrived at Fort Washington just after the defeat of General St. Clair's army, and witnessed the gathering in at that post of the broken fragments of that gallant band, which had marched out but a few weeks before in the pride of military power, and now returned a mutilated, disorganized, and panic-stricken corps. The whole defence of the frontier now devolved on a few men, while the Indians, flushed with victory, had grown more audacious than ever. The winter was setting in, and such were the hardships to be anticipated by those who were destined to protect the distant outposts of the wilderness, that the stoutest hearts might have failed, and the hardiest veterans have shrunk from the unequal contest. Harrison, young, slender, and apparently frail, was advised by his comrades to decline a ser-

vice for which his constitution and early habits seemed to have rendered him peculiarly unfit. But his was not a spirit to recoil from danger. The same boldness and energy of character—the same prodigal exposure of his own person to danger and fatigue, which have marked his conduct through life, were displayed at the commencement of his career.

The first duty confided him was to command an escort having charge of a train of pack-horses bound for Fort Hamilton. The duty was difficult and perilous, requiring great exposure by night and by day, continual watchfulness, and a greater degree of sagacity than would ordinarily have been expected in a youth of nineteen. But he acquitted himself in a manner which proved his abilities to be equal to his spirit, and which elicited the commendations of General St. Clair.

At this time the vice of intemperance was common in the army, and many promising young men fell victims to the destroyer. The practice of drinking ardent spirits was universal; public sentiment had not denounced it as immoral, nor was intoxication considered, as it now is, degrading to the character of the gentleman. The hardships to which the army was exposed, and the privations which they often endured for days and weeks together, predisposed the young officers to excess in their moments of relaxation. In other respects,

their situation exposed them to the contagion of bad habits. They were cut loose from the restraints of society, from the genial influence of domestic intercourse, and from the companionship of all those who might have awed or advised them to prudent and virtuous habits. They were encamped in the wilderness, or shut up in isolated fortresses, without books or amusements, and where the temptations to gambling and intoxication, assailed them with tenfold force. Mr. Harrison had the good sense to see and avoid these dangers; and strengthened by the advice of General Wilkinson, who succeeded General St. Clair in 1792, resisted the temptation, and laid the foundation of those habits of temperance which have adhered to him through a long life, enabled him to support the fatigues of border warfare, and given him a degree of health and vigour which few men enjoy at his age.

In 1792, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and in 1793 joined the legion under General Wayne, who soon noticed the ardent young Virginian, and selected him as one of his aids-de-camp. In this honourable post he served with credit, and learned the art of war in a severe school. He who followed the footsteps of Wayne reposed not on beds of down, nor trod in paths strewed with flowers.

On the 28th of November, 1792, the army left Pittsburgh, and took up a position on the Ohio

twenty-two miles below that place, and seven above the mouth of Beaver, which assumed the name of Legionville. Huts were constructed for the whole force; the general and his officers remaining in tents until all the soldiers were completely accommodated. The position was strongly fortified, and every precaution taken to prevent surprise. The enemy was within striking distance, and the utmost vigilance was necessary to preserve the army, to teach it self-reliance, and to impress the foe with respect for our arms.

One of the duties confided to Wayne by the sagacious Washington, was that of conciliating the friendly tribes; and accordingly an early invitation was sent to Cornplanter and New Arrow, distinguished chiefs of the Six Nations, to visit the commander-in-chief at Legionville. They came in March 1793, accompanied by Big Tree, and the aged Guasutha. On this occasion a toast was given by Cornplanter, at the general's table, which showed clearly their opinion of the terms upon which peace should be established between the red and white men. "My mind and heart are upon that river," said the chief, pointing to the Ohio—"may that water ever continue to run, and remain the boundary of lasting peace between the Americans, and the Indians on its opposite shore." If such was the language boldly held in the presence of the representative of our government, by the

chiefs in amity with us, it is not difficult to infer the disposition of the hostile tribes. A permanent boundary, which should for ever separate them from the further encroachment of our people, had always been the natural and not unreasonable desire of the Indians. The Ohio was the boundary now insisted upon by British policy; and in consequence of their intrigues, the American government was required by the Indians to relinquish all claims north and west of that river, although repeated treaties, and fair purchase, had transferred to them large portions of the territory, which had been pledged by Congress to the officers and soldiers of the revolution, and parts of which were now occupied by actual settlers. In the event of our refusal to comply with terms so entirely inadmissible, so sternly opposed to our interest, honour, and good faith, a general and desolating war was the only alternative. These facts are necessary to a distinct understanding of the subsequent events. The war was not one of aggression upon our part. It was sanctioned by justice, and impelled by the duty of self-defence; it was imperatively required to break up the pernicious influence of an insidious European foe, and to curb the ferocity of the savage.

The dispatches of Wayne to the government soon assumed a tone of confidence, widely different from that which characterized his letters from

Pittsburgh. The troops improved rapidly in discipline, harmony and order were established, military pride and zeal were awakened, and an ardent desire for active duty animated the whole legion. Alluding to this change, and to a proposition of the government that commissioners should be appointed to attempt a treaty with the Indians, he playfully expressed in one of his letters a desire to be present at the proposed convention, "with 2500 of his commissioners, with not a single Quaker among them;" adding, "in which case I feel confident an honourable peace would be the result."

On the 30th of April, 1793, General Wayne broke up his position at Legionville, and conveyed his army in boats to Fort Washington, an outpost upon the site now occupied by the city of Cincinnati. Here he was detained by the orders of the government. The Indians had intimated a desire to treat; and the government, earnestly intent on trying to the last the benevolent medium of negotiation, deputed General Lincoln, Colonel Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, to meet the chiefs at Sandusky.

The accurate writer from whom we have already quoted, describes in the following terms the situation of the army during the pendency of the negotiation:

"Thus restrained from active operations, General Wayne devoted himself to perfecting the prepara-

tions necessary, if the negotiations should not, as he was fully persuaded they would not, eventuate in peace. The troops were manœuvred and disciplined—arrangements were adopted for bringing into service an auxiliary aid of mounted volunteers from Kentucky. Vigorous exertions were made to insure a full supply of provisions, especially at the head of the line; for the commanding general was fully impressed with the importance of placing the army not only beyond the reach, but beyond the apprehension, of want. It is scarcely possible to conceive the difficulties encountered in effecting this indispensable object; so inadequate were the contractor's supplies to accomplish the wishes of the commander-in-chief, that additional and effectual means were adopted to effect the purpose. In truth, from the moment of his taking the command, from the want of experienced officers, in several departments, it became necessary for him to attend to them much in detail. By the organization of the legion, he was entitled to the aid of four brigadier generals, whereas he had but one during the greater period of his campaigns, and at no time more than two; one of whom was his gallant and distinguished friend, General Thomas Posey. His vigilant eye, however, let nothing pass without the closest inspection, and his untiring industry and devotion were repaid by the order and perfection introduced into every department of the army." * * *

"In the extraordinary situation of the world, the conduct of France, Great Britain, and Spain, frequently influencing events in which the army were concerned, called for his animadversions, and they will uniformly be found to be those of a statesman of enlarged, liberal, and correct views, breathing throughout the purest patriotism."

As had been foreseen by General Wayne, the negotiations failed. The Indians obstinately persisted in demanding that the Ohio should be the established boundary, and haughtily refused to treat upon any other terms. The government therefore ordered General Wayne to commence active operations, to carry them forward with vigour, but by no means to risk a defeat, which, under existing circumstances, would have been "*pernicious in the highest degree* to the interests of the country."

Wayne had made his arrangements in advance of these instructions, had called to his assistance a thousand mounted men from Kentucky, broken up his head-quarters at Hobson's Choice, near Fort Washington, and commenced his march on the 7th of October. On the 13th of the same month, he took a position six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, and eighty miles from Fort Washington, on the south-west branch of the Miami. This was fortified in a manner to render it impregnable to a savage force, and called Greeneville.

In a dispatch dated 23d October, 1793, General

Wayne describes an attack on the 17th, upon a convoy of provisions, consisting of ninety men, under Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd. "These two gallant young gentlemen, who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession, together with thirteen men, non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge." Such was the terror inspired by the Indians, and such the difficulty of inducing even trained soldiers to face the imaginary dangers of the conflict.

About this time a band of Kentuckians under General Scott joined the army; but as the season was too far advanced for effective operations in the field, they were permitted to return.

On the 23d of December, eight companies of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, under Major Burbeck, were dispatched to take possession of the field of battle of the 4th November, 1791, and to fortify the position. To the new post thus established was given the name of Fort Recovery. The following general order was issued on the return of the troops from that mournful but highly interesting expedition:—

"The commander-in-chief returns his most grateful thanks to Major Henry Burbeck, and to every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private, be-

longing to the detachment under his command, for their soldierly and exemplary good conduct during their late arduous tour of duty, and the cheerfulness with which they surmounted every difficulty, at this inclement season, in repossessing General St. Clair's field of battle, and erecting thereon *Fort Recovery*, a work impregnable by savage force; as also for piously and carefully collecting and interring the bones, and paying the last respect and military honours to the remains of the heroes who fell on the 4th of November, 1791, by three times three discharges from the *same artillery* that was lost on that fatal day, but now recovered by this detachment of the legion.

"The commander-in-chief also requests Major Mills, Captains De Butts and Butler, *Lieutenant Harrison*, and Dr. Scott, to accept his best thanks for their voluntary aid and services on this occasion."

Thus early do we find the name of Harrison identified with deeds of patriotism and valour.

The Indian councils were now cunningly directed. Breathing war and vengeance, and bent on the expulsion of the whites from the north-western territory, they yet pretended to be still willing to accede to amicable terms; and shortly after the erection of Fort Recovery, a message was sent by them to General Wayne, to propose that negotiations should be opened, for the adjustment of all

existing difficulties. Fully empowered to make peace, or to prosecute the war, and satisfied of the earnest desire of the President to avoid bloodshed, General Wayne felt himself obliged to meet the overture with apparent satisfaction, and to open a treaty; while he was convinced that the secret object of the enemy was to gain time, to lull his vigilance, and to reconnoitre his strength. He required as a preliminary to any treaty, that all American captives in the hands of the Indians should be released, and gave them thirty days in which to do this, and to make their propositions.

A singular occurrence marked this temporary cessation of hostilities. On the departure of the flag, charged with the pacific message of Wayne, Big Tree, a distinguished Seneca warrior, who had attached himself to our cause, committed suicide. "I have lost," said he, "a very dear friend—the friend of my heart—General Richard Butler." He had sworn to sacrifice three victims to the manes of his friend; and exasperated at the idea of a peace, which would defeat his purpose, he put an end to his existence.

New difficulties accumulated round this gallant army. Combinations of persons were said to be formed in Kentucky, for the purpose of invading the Spanish territory on the lower Mississippi; and the governor of Louisiana, to be prepared for the threatened aggression, had advanced within the

boundaries of the United States, and fortified a position at the Chickasaw bluffs. The spoliations committed by the piratical fleets of Great Britain upon our commerce, the hostile spirit manifested in the whole tone of the measures of that government, the speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, inciting them to rapine, the refusal to deliver up the posts still maintained in the wilderness of the northwestern territory,—all contributed to render a war with Great Britain probable. Even lately a British force had been audaciously thrown into our territory, and a fort erected by them at the rapids of the Miami. To meet the various points of danger indicated by these events, General Wayne garrisoned Fort Massac, on the Ohio, 60 miles above its confluence with the Mississippi, opened a correspondence with the patriotic governor of Kentucky, and proceeded to crush the intended irruption into Louisiana, as well as to guard against the military movements of the British.

The Indians refused to treat, and active operations were resumed. Nothing delayed the movement towards the enemy, but the expected arrival of the Kentucky volunteers, whose aid had been promised.

On the 30th of June, 1794, an escort of riflemen and dragoons, under Major M'Mahan, was attacked under the guns of Fort Recovery, and a general assault made upon that post. The engagement

was obstinate; the savages, though several times repulsed, renewed the fight with spirit, and were at last defeated with a considerable loss of their warriors. An auxiliary force of British soldiers, commanded by their proper officers, were mingled with the Indians on this occasion. The assailants were about 1500 in number; their loss was great, and the victory over them triumphant and cheering.

About the middle of July, General Scott arrived from Kentucky, with his command of mounted volunteers; and on the 8th of August, General Wayne took up a position at Grand Glaise, in the very heart of the Indian country, and 70 miles in advance of Greeneville. This movement was so rapid, and was executed with such consummate skill, that had it not been for the desertion of a soldier, who conveyed the intelligence to the British, the surprise of the enemy would have been complete, and their defeat inevitable. By this bold and prudent measure, the army was established in the midst of extensive Indian settlements which were under the immediate protection of a British garrison. In a letter written upon this occasion to the Secretary of War, he remarks, "Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians in the west, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miami

of the Lake, and Au Glaise, appear like one continued village for a number of miles above and below the place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

Having erected a strong work at the confluence of the rivers above mentioned, which he called Fort Defiance; and being now prepared to strike the enemy, he made a last attempt at conciliation. "I have thought proper," he said, "to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have every thing that is dear and interesting at stake, I have reason to expect they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the inclosed copy of an address dispatched yesterday by a special flag, under circumstances that will insure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood." "But should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all powerful and just God, I therefore commit myself and gallant army."

The overture was rejected, against the advice of the distinguished chief Little Turtle, a man of great capacity and unimpeached courage, who, in a council of the combined Indians, on the night previous to the battle, held the following language: "We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good for-

tune to attend us always. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps: the night and the day are alike to him. And during all the time he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

The splendid engagement which ensued, is memorable as well from the consummate skill displayed by the general, and the valour of the troops, as from the important consequences that flowed from our victory. The success of Wayne was owing to his vigilance, the high discipline of his army, and the system of tactics which he adopted. Abandoning the close order, which would have been proper in fighting European troops, but which it is impracticable to preserve in thickly wooded grounds, while it exposes men in solid masses to the unerring aim of the sharp-shooting savage,—he adopted an open order, which enabled his men to move with more facility among the trees, exposed them less to the fire of the enemy, and extended the line of battle, so as to defeat the usual stratagem of the foe, that of turning the flank and striking at the rear.

We cannot describe the battle itself better than by quoting entirely the official account of the commander-in-chief:

"HEAD QUARTERS,
Grand Glaize, 28th August, 1794.

"SIR,

"It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miami, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the rapids.

"The army advanced from this place on the 15th instant, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood, and the British fort.

"At 8 o'clock on the 20th, the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank, covered by the Miami,—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbee:—a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced—so as to give timely notice for the troops to form, in case of action—it being yet undeter-

mined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

"The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left; and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their savage mode of warfare, they were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending nearly two miles, at right angles with the river.

"I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire, and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance, to support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route: at the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; and, when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk

charge, so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Miss Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in.

"All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge of the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

"From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the inclosed cor-

respondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

"The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude: among whom I beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson,* and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops; and to these I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butts and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the adjutant general, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. Lieutenant Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry now devolved, cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

"The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenants Campbell, Smith (an extra

* The gallant and veteran General Posey was not in the battle.

aid-de-camp to General Wilkinson) of the legionary infantry, and Captain Van Rensellaer, of the dragoons, and Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant M'Kenney, and Ensign Duncan, of the mounted volunteers, bear honourable testimony of their bravery and conduct.

"Captains H. Lewis and Brock, with their companies of light infantry, had to sustain an unequal fire for some time, which they supported with fortitude. In fact, every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which will always insure success.

"And here permit me to declare, that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers; and I am well persuaded that had the enemy maintained their favourite ground but for one half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

"But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not forget the gallant dead; among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Captain Miss Campbell of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Towles of the light infantry of the legion, who fell in the first charge.

"Inclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded—the loss of the enemy was more than double that of the federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the

dead bodies of the Indians, and their white auxiliaries; the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

"We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol-shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration—among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel M'Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

"The army returned to this place on the 27th by easy marches, laying waste the villages and corn-fields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miami; there remain yet a number of villages, and a great quantity of corn to be consumed or destroyed, upon Au Glaize and the Miami, which will be effected in the course of a few days. In the interim we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greeneville and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

"It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make one more desperate effort against the

army; as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miami, from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians, living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, as long as the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be more complete and decisive—and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

"Under these impressions, I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient,

"And very humble servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"The Hon. Major Gen. KNOX,
Secretary of War."

The reader need scarcely be informed, that the Lieutenant Harrison who is mentioned with such distinguished honour in this dispatch, is the individual whose biography we are writing, and who subsequently practised with so much ability and success the military lesson learned under the teaching of Wayne.

The action had scarcely terminated, when it was announced from one of the advanced guards of the army, that a British officer had presented himself, with a flag, bearing a letter to General Wayne. An aid-de-camp was sent to receive it. It proved to be a communication from the commandant of

Fort Miami, Colonel Campbell, requesting General Wayne to inform him whether he was to consider the American army as enemies, adding that he was ignorant of the existence of any war between the King his master, and the United States. General Wayne replied, that his motive for coming there might have been readily inferred by Colonel Campbell, from the firing of the American arms in the battle that had just ceased, between his army and the hostile Indians, who, being defeated, had fled for protection to the fort which the colonel commanded; and required of *him* to say by what authority a British military post had been established within the acknowledged territories of the United States. To this Colonel Campbell replied, that he had been sent there by his superior officer, and being there, should defend the fort until the fortune of war should oblige him to surrender.

General Wayne had authority from the President to take this fort if it in any manner impeded his operations against the Indians, and was little disposed to suffer the permission to remain unacted upon. No service could have been so acceptable to his brave battalions, who would have embraced with eagerness an opportunity to avenge the sufferings of their countrymen upon the real instigators of the war. But that chief, though popularly called "Mad Anthony," was as cool and sagacious in his designs, as he was impetuous in their execution.

The capture of the fort would have led to important results, into which it was not politic to commit the nation, unless the measure should be actually necessary to the success of the campaign; nor did he think it prudent to weaken his army by the attempt, if the work should prove so strong as to require a great expenditure of life in its reduction.

A thorough examination of the work was determined upon; and a grand reconnoissance was accordingly made by the commander-in-chief, attended by all the staff of the army, and escorted by the light troops. The general, attended by a troop of dragoons, approached to a ravine, within 100 yards of the fort. Here it was supposed he would have remained; but after halting a few moments he began leisurely to ascend the hill which formed the ravine, accompanied by his aids-de-camp De Butts and Harrison. As soon as they were unmasked by the hill, it was discovered that they were within 50 or 60 yards of a bastion of the fort, presenting numerous embrasures, out of which cannon of the largest calibre were protruded, with the gunners leaning over them with lighted portfires, prepared to fire. The sentinel upon the salient angle brought his piece to a recover, preparatory to firing. Harrison announced the latter circumstance to the general, remarking that he would immediately be shot. With his accustomed coolness, General Wayne replied, that the sentinel dared not fire.

At this moment General Wilkinson, with his staff, came dashing up the ravine at a gallop; and the British probably supposed that troops were advancing to a charge. A bustle ensued in the bastion, and an officer was seen, restraining with difficulty the soldiers from firing. General Wayne reined back his horse, and retired slowly, followed by the staff. Before he reached his quarters, another letter was brought from Colonel Campbell, complaining of the insulting conduct of General Wayne, in approaching so near his fort, and declaring that if it was repeated he must fire upon him. Wayne treated this as a ridiculous bravado; but believing that the loss of life which must accompany an attempt to carry so strong a work by escalade, would not be compensated by the advantage to be gained, he gave up the idea of making the attack.

The haughty spirit of the Indian tribes was broken by the decisive victory of the 20th of August. They were taught to respect and fear our arms, and to doubt the power of Britain to protect them. On the 1st of January, 1795, they opened a negotiation for peace, by agreeing to surrender all captives in their possession, to ratify former treaties, and to comply generally with the terms offered them by General Wayne; for the faithful performance of which they gave hostages. Other beneficial results ensued. The news of the victory reached London on the 19th of November, ninety

days after the battle, and produced such an impression there, that the protracted negotiation pending between Mr. Jay and Lord Grenville, was brought to a conclusion highly advantageous to our government. A treaty was finally held at Greeneville between General Wayne and a numerous representation of the Indian tribes, in which important concessions were made to our government, and the Indians were as much conciliated by the affability, moderation, and fairness, of the American commander, and the liberality of our government, as they had been awed by the prowess of our troops.

Shortly after the close of this campaign, Captain Harrison, though still retaining his rank as an aid-de-camp of General Wayne, was placed, as a confidential officer, in command of Fort Washington, under circumstances which show the high estimation in which his talents and discretion were held by the commander-in-chief. At this period, certain agents of the French government were engaged in a deep-laid intrigue in Kentucky, the object of which was to excite that gallant people into a war with the Spanish of Louisiana, and by thus embroiling our government with Spain, to force it into a league with France. Commissions were offered to individuals, money and munitions were promised, and the adventurous spirits of the west were encouraged to engage upon their own responsibility in a campaign for the purpose of wresting Louisiana

from the Spaniards, and settling by the sword the long disputed question of the right of the Americans to navigate the Mississippi. So alluring was this project in the eyes of those who had long felt themselves injured by the insolent and oppressive demands of Spain, and whose sterling patriotism and love for the union had alone induced them to suppress their indignation at the earnest solicitation of the President—that now, when the opportunity offered, some of the most distinguished men of the west, were disposed to engage in the adventure. It was even to be feared, that when peace should be established on the north-western frontier, many valuable young officers might be induced to resign their commissions, and seek employment in this popular though unauthorized war.

General Wayne, besides keeping up a correspondence with the governor of Kentucky, and garrisoning Fort Massac, placed Captain Harrison at Fort Washington, with extensive discretionary powers to be used as circumstances might require. He was, among other duties, instructed to keep the general advised of all movements towards the proposed enterprise, and to prevent the passage down the river of boats laden with military stores, belonging to the French agents.

The British posts on the northern frontier, so long held in violation of good faith, were about this time given up; and the troops intended to oc-

cupy them, together with the armament and stores, were sent to Fort Washington, and forwarded thence through the wilderness. Captain Harrison was the organ through which these troops received their orders, and the officer specially charged with the commands and intentions of the general in relation to the whole operation. It is no slight evidence of the prudence, ability, and intelligence of Harrison, that at an early age, and with the rank only of captain, he was selected by the discriminating Wayne to discharge duties so important, and exercise a responsibility so delicate. It is enough to say, that in this, as well as in the various subsequent trusts reposed in him throughout a long career, he honourably vindicated, by his fidelity and zeal, the choice of the appointing power.

While in command of Fort Washington, Captain Harrison married the lady who has been the faithful companion of this distinguished patriot, during the various perils and vicissitudes of his eventful life, and lives to witness the maturity of his fame, and the honours paid him by a grateful country. She was the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the Miami settlements.

CHAPTER IV.

Captain Harrison appointed Secretary of the Territory—His first election to Congress—His services in reference to the sale of public lands.

On the death of General Wayne, in 1797, Captain Harrison left the army, and received his first civil appointment—that of secretary of the north-western territory, and, *ex officio*, lieutenant-governor. He had already perilled his life in defence of the scattered settlements of the west; he now became identified with the people in their domestic hardships, and their arduous labours in founding liberal institutions in the wilderness. They had difficulties to encounter, which can hardly be realized by those who have only beheld the peace and prosperity which now prevail in our happy country. Emigrating from distant lands, they found themselves placed in scenes where every thing was new. The freshness and beauty of nature, in her most fascinating and prolific forms, were around them; but the elements of society, law, industry, and moral influence, existed only in a chaos, which required wisdom and power little less than creative,

to unite them under a harmonious system. They had settled in damp forests, where sickness chilled their energies, and sometimes swept whole families to the grave. They had none of the luxuries, and few of the comforts, of life; the supply of absolute necessaries was comprised within the narrow bound of such food and shelter as the axe and the rifle could procure. They had houses to build, and farms to clear. The wolf and panther howled around them—the venomous serpent was in their path—and the wily Indian crept upon the sleeping family, in that unconscious hour when the toils of hard labour were succeeded by the repose of sleep.

From these privations and toils none were exempt—the farmer, the hunter, the trader, and the civil officer, alike inhabited the log cabin, shared the dangers of battle, and mingled in labours for the civil improvement and political exaltation of the growing community. It was in this school that Mr. Harrison became intimately acquainted with the character, the wants, and the wishes of his countrymen. He learned the lessons of political economy out of the great volume of human nature. At the fireside of the farmer, at the camp of the hunter, at the frontier fortress, at the council of the governor, at the festive gatherings of the people, he learned all that could be known of the true state of the country and its inhabitants.

Mr. Harrison's conduct in the office of secretary,

and his popular manners, met with marked public approbation; and when, in the ensuing year, the north-western territory entered into the second grade of government, and the people were authorized to elect a delegate to Congress, he was the first individual chosen to fill that office.

The mode of disposing of the public lands, by which, except in peculiar situations, they were offered in tracts of *four thousand acres*, was particularly odious to the people, and subversive of their interests, if not of their rights. It was an arrangement presenting the most aristocratic features, and was calculated alike to benefit the wealthy monopolist, and to retard the settlement of a new and fertile country. At a period when money was scarce, and when commercial facilities had not been extended to the region west of the mountains, few individuals could make even so large a purchase as a single tract of that size. The actual settlers were poor, and as regarded them, the law amounted to an absolute denial of the advantage of becoming freeholders. The very men who had the best claim to the ownership of the soil, and were most entitled to the protection of the government—the pioneer who had won the country by toil and peril, the farmer who was enduring the labour of clearing the soil, the sturdy yeomanry who formed the bone and muscle of the population, were precluded from all possibility of becoming

the owners of the homes established by their enterprise, courage, and industry; and were threatened with the continuance of a system which would have reduced them and their children into the tenants and vassals of a few wealthy nabobs.

The grants which had in several instances been made, of large tracts in the western country, to individuals or companies, were liable to a similar objection. The direct effect was to place extensive regions of desirable lands in the hands of speculators, and to force the settlers to become tenants, or purchasers at second hand. The operation of these measures, if we can suppose for a moment that the people would have tamely submitted to them, would have been the building up of a class of princely proprietors, who would have revelled in the wealth earned by a hard-working tenantry. The injustice of such a system forcibly struck Mr. Harrison, and he took the earliest opportunity of exposing its defects. The efficient stand made by him on this question, pointed him out to the people as the proper individual to represent them on the floor of Congress, and to effect a change in a system, which, if persisted in, would have been attended with the most disastrous results. Mr. Harrison acquiesced in the will of the people, and took his seat in Congress.

When the representative of the north-western territory entered upon his duties, the Congress was

distinguished by an amount of talent which has seldom been equalled, even in that body. Among other well-known names, those of Ross, Bayard, Harper, Gallatin, Marshall, and Giles, stood pre-eminent. An association with such men was an admirable school for the young delegate; and his subsequent course has proved that he did not suffer the opportunity to pass unimproved. The friends he then made remained through life, and many of the most distinguished men in that Congress saw, in the industry, quickness, and enterprise of Mr. Harrison's character, those qualities which were to fit him for future usefulness. To the knowledge which the general government then acquired of Mr. Harrison's capacity for public business, may be fairly imputed the numerous appointments which he afterwards received.

One of the first acts of Mr. Harrison, in his legislative character, had reference to a subject of absorbing interest to the western population, and he has the honour of having led the way in that gradual improvement in the system of disposing of the public domain, which has led to the present equitable arrangement. After the ordinary preliminary steps required by prudence, he offered a resolution, by which a committee was raised, with instructions to inquire into, and report, on the then existing mode of selling public lands. He was appointed chairman of that committee, and it is believed that

this is the only instance in which that distinction has been conferred upon a territorial delegate.

In due time he made a report, accompanied by a bill, which was calculated to change the whole system, and the chief feature of which was, to reduce the size of the tracts to a number of acres less than four thousand, so as to place them within the reach of the farmer and actual settler. It is difficult to imagine at this day, how a body so enlightened could have hesitated in the adoption of a measure of such obvious advantage to the government, and so eminently just to that hardy class who were to endure the toil of subduing the wilderness, and who had the best right to become the owners of the soil. The report produced a powerful sensation, and gained for the chairman a reputation unexampled in the career of so young a man, and at his first appearance on the political arena. The document, however, was not, it is believed, his own exclusive production: the masterly pen and acute mind of Mr. Gallatin largely contributed to it; and although the earnest request of this able citizen, and the peculiar circumstances of the moment, forced Mr. Harrison to submit to the credit of being the sole author, the natural ingenuousness of his character prevented him from remaining the subject of undeserved eulogy an instant longer than sound policy required. As soon as he could honestly relieve himself from the constraint imposed by cir-

cumstances, he gave the merit of the report to Mr. Gallatin.

However the fact may be, the able and discreet manner in which he conducted the debate, left no reason to suspect the authorship of the report, or the bill. It was warmly attacked by Cooper, of New-York, and by the eloquent and classic Lee, of Virginia. Mr. Harrison defended it alone; he exposed the folly and iniquity of the old system; demonstrated that it could only result to the benefit of the wealthy monopolist and desperate land-jobber, while that species of population which has since poured into the fertile plains of Ohio, and made it in forty years the third state in the union, must have been excluded from her borders, or taken the land at second-hand, from the wealthy purchasers from the government.

Mr. Harrison was perfect master of the subject; he had examined the whole ground, and his ardent zeal and manly eloquence bore down opposition. The bill was carried triumphantly through the lower house. It met with powerful opposition in the Senate, and a committee of conference was finally agreed upon between the two bodies. Messrs. Ross and Brown acted as managers on the part of the Senate, and Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Harrison on the part of the House of Representatives. The discussion at length resulted in a compromise, by which the land was to be sold in alternate whole

and half sections, instead of in half and quarter sections, as proposed in Mr. Harrison's bill. The point gained, however, was immense: a reduction in the *minimum* size of the tracts from 4000 down to 640 and 320 acres, was of incalculable importance, and extinguished, in a great measure, the splendid visions of the wealthy speculator. Had the bill been delayed one year, it is more than probable that a large portion of Ohio would have been sold off in four thousand acre tracts to the capitalists, to the exclusion of that useful class, which has since given the spring to the glory and prosperity of the state.

Emboldened by his success in his first attempt in favour of popular rights, Mr. Harrison introduced a resolution to change the mode of locating military land-warrants. He exposed in a forcible manner the injustice of the mode then in operation. The House was again favourable to his views. A committee was authorized to sit during the session, who reported a bill, which was passed.

The effect of these measures was beneficially felt throughout the whole region north-west of the Ohio, and is now seen in the prosperity of a million and a half of freemen. Their results upon the popularity of Mr. Harrison were gratifying and substantial. Petitions were extensively circulated among the new settlers, who found themselves secured in the invaluable privilege of becoming

freeholders, requesting the President to appoint Mr. Harrison governor of the north-western territory. He was himself the first to oppose the object of these petitions. With a delicacy honourable to himself, and a respect for the venerable St. Clair, which was due to that eminent soldier, he refused to suffer his name to be placed in competition with that of his venerable friend. But as the territory was about this time divided, and that of Indiana erected, he accepted in 1801 the government of the latter.

Thus far we have seen this distinguished gentleman most honourably engaged in the service of his country. His bravery and conduct in the field won him the applause of Wayne, who was no indifferent judge of merit; and no sooner was the war ended, than he turned his attention to civil pursuits. Here we find him the zealous and able advocate of the best interests of the people, contending fearlessly for their rights. Though young and inexperienced, and though opposed by able and veteran statesmen, he did not shrink from his duty, but nobly earned the title which has since been conferred upon him by common consent,—that of *Father of the north-western territory.*

In politics, Mr. Harrison early identified himself with the republican party; and though never violent or acrimonious, he has steadily adhered to the political maxims of that school, and has always

been found the zealous advocate of popular rights. When in office, he has never shown a disposition to grasp at power, but has always endeavoured to ascertain the wishes of the people, to comply with their instructions, and to advance their interests. The administration that first appointed him to civil office, knew his devotion to the principles of the revolution, and his zeal for the diffusion of the pure maxims of democracy. Neither they, their successors, nor the people, have ever had cause to repent their confidence in his patriotism.

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of Indiana—Duties of Mr. Harrison as Governor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner for treating with the Indians.

The powers conferred on Mr. Harrison as governor of Indiana, and the extent of the territory confided to his jurisdiction, were greater than have ever been committed to the charge of any citizen of the United States, except himself. Indiana had the boundaries of an empire, and its governor powers almost unlimited. Ohio having been stricken off with definite boundaries, the whole of the remainder of the territory of the United States, beyond the Ohio and Mississippi, fell within his jurisdiction—including the wide regions that now compose Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and for a period of nearly two years, the whole of Louisiana, which was attached to Indiana on its purchase in 1803, and was not erected into a separate territory until July, 1805.

It was a new territory, whose institutions were to be formed, and whose prosperity depended on him who should direct its affairs. The right of suffrage had not been extended to the people, they

had no voice in the election of officers, or in the adoption of measures for their own government; all power in respect to the territory and its inhabitants was reserved by the general government, and delegated by it to the territorial governor.

The task of governing a region so new, and so far distant from the better settled parts of our country, was surrounded with difficulties. The population was small and widely scattered. There were but three principal settlements—one at the falls of Ohio, opposite to Louisville, another at Vincennes, distant from the first more than a hundred miles, and the other, including the French settlements, in the tract denominated the American Bottom, on the Mississippi, extending from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, two hundred miles from Vincennes; Detroit was added at the admission of the state of Ohio into the union, and Louisiana when first purchased—and numerous other settlements grew up during the administration of Mr. Harrison.

The intermediate country was in the possession of the Indians, and was visited by hunters, who often became embroiled with the savages. The tribes were restless and dissatisfied. Even while peace nominally existed, and during the short intervals when the chiefs were disposed to act in good faith, the innate love of the Indian for plunder, the sudden impulse of revenge, or the madness of intoxication, impelled desperate individuals to the

perpetration of robbery and murder; and during the long and gloomy period which was only terminated by the war of 1812, the inhabitants scarcely enjoyed any interval of security or repose. The storm sometimes burst at one point, and sometimes at another; here in petty depredations which were only vexatious, and there in acts of audacious atrocity.

Between the distant settlements, the only roads were the paths beaten by the Indians, which were not accommodated with ferries or bridges. There were, of course, no houses of entertainment; here and there an individual erected a *station*, consisting of a log house, surrounded by palisades, which afforded the only secure resting-places to travellers journeying through the wilderness.

The seat of government was at Vincennes, a village beautifully situated on the Wabash, and inhabited chiefly by French, who, although attached to the new authority recently placed over them, were entirely unacquainted with our language and laws, and preferred the simple institutions under which they had long lived at this isolated spot.

Numerous tribes of Indians inhabited the vast wilderness lying beyond these settlements. With these the British traders from Canada carried on an extensive and lucrative traffic, to preserve which in their own hands, and to prevent the competition of our enterprising fellow-citizens, they spared no

pains to embitter the minds of the Indians against our people and government. The period of General Harrison's administration was that immediately preceding the second war for independence—that during which our commerce was lawlessly plundered on the ocean, our flag insulted, and our native seamen impressed into the service of a foreign despot,—and throughout all which, a series of fruitless negotiations was prosecuted between our cabinet and that of Great Britain. The implacable animosity of that nation, her deafness to the voice of remonstrance, and her obstinate perseverance in acts of oppression, rendered it certain that a free and high-spirited people could not long maintain with her the nominal relations of peace, while she was thus practising actual hostility. War was inevitable; and our adversary, in anticipation of that event, instructed her agents and officers on the frontiers of Canada, to encourage the dissensions between our people and the Indians. The latter were accordingly bribed with liberal presents, furnished with arms and ammunition, and incited to intoxication, war, and plunder. Thus was presented the singular spectacle of one civilized government endeavouring to allure the savages to the arts of peace, while another sedulously counteracted the efforts of humanity, and rolled back, with a gigantic arm, the progress of religion and benevolence.

Unhappily the state of affairs on the frontier afforded ample opportunities for carrying forward this detestable conspiracy against the interests of humanity, as well as the peace and advantage of both the Americans and Indians. Not only was every plausible cause of offence magnified, but the most benevolent acts of our government and people seized upon and misrepresented. The efforts made to induce the savages to abstain from the use of spirits, were censured as arbitrary, and the missionaries who were sent to civilize and convert them, were denounced as the instruments of a project to destroy their ancient customs, and reduce them to servitude.

In the organization of the first grade of territorial government, it was provided that the governor and judges should adopt and publish such *laws of the original states*, criminal and civil, as might be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district; which laws should be in force until the organization of a legislature for the district. The legislative power therefore, embracing the difficult office of selecting from the numerous statute-books of the different states, such provisions as were suited to the exigencies of a young people, fell chiefly upon the governor.

All magistrates and other civil officers, and all militia officers below the grade of general, were

appointed by the governor; general officers in the militia were to be appointed by Congress.

He was commander-in-chief of the militia.

The sole power of dividing the district into counties and townships, was also vested in the governor.

Besides the pardoning, and all ordinary powers incidental to the office of governor, he was the agent and representative of the general government, and kept up a voluminous correspondence with the cabinet at Washington, in reference to the affairs of the territory.

Another immense power was confided to the governor of Indiana—that of confirming grants of land to a numerous class of individuals, having certain equitable claims which are enumerated in the law. It is a little remarkable that a power so extensive, and so susceptible of abuse, was placed in the hands of a single officer, without any check or limitation. No other officer was required to countersign, or to record, these grants. The application was made to the governor directly, and his signature vested a title in the claimant. There was no special formality, or publicity, necessary to give validity to the act. It might have been a secret proceeding between the claimant and the granter, and yet have been unquestionable before any legal tribunal. Yet such was the prudence of Governor Harrison, such his scrupulous attention to the public interest, and his nice regard for his

own honour, that he has always been admitted to have discharged this duty, not only with integrity, but without having incurred suspicion. There are men who, under such circumstances, would have amassed splendid fortunes, by availing themselves of the facilities for speculation thus afforded; but it is a fact highly creditable to Governor Harrison, and characteristic of the disinterestedness which has marked his public career, that he not only did not avail himself of these opportunities at the time, either directly or indirectly, but that he has never since taken any advantage of the intimate knowledge of land titles gained in his official capacity, and has not to this day even owned a single acre of land held under a title which originally emanated from himself as the representative of the government.

Nor were these all the labours of this disinterested patriot and indefatigable public officer. As governor, he was *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs; and Mr. Jefferson appointed him sole commissioner for treating with the Indians. The latter appointment he discharged for a series of years; having the exclusive charge of this laborious department, and the disbursement of the large sums of money appropriated by Congress to be expended in this quarter, in the purchase of land, and in gratuities to the tribes. The success which crowned his labours, and the great influence which he ac-

quired over the north-western tribes, fully justified the wisdom of this selection. Nearly the whole period of his administration was a continued series of treaties; and his efficiency as a negotiator is amply proved in his voluminous correspondence with the President, and in the treaties themselves. By one of these he procured the extinguishment of the title to the largest tract of country ever ceded at one time by the Indians, since the settlement of North America. This cession embraced all that territory, from the mouth of the Illinois to the mouth of the Wisconsin, on one side, and from the mouth of the Illinois to the mouth of Fox river, on the other. A line drawn from the latter point to a point on the Wisconsin, thirty-six miles above its mouth, forms the northern boundary of the purchase, which embraces fifty-one millions of acres. When it is considered that this territory comprises the richest mineral region in the union, some idea may be formed of its value.

In 1805, the territory of Indiana was erected into the second grade of government. By this change, the people advanced one step towards the assumption of the republican rights of suffrage and self-government, and were allowed to elect the members of the popular branch of the legislature; the latter nominated ten persons, out of whom Congress chose five, who constituted the less numerous branch. The assembly thus organized, appointed

a delegate to Congress, who was permitted to speak in that body, and was entrusted with the management of the business of the territory, but who, not representing a state, could of course have no vote. The change was urgently pressed by Governor Harrison, although it deprived him of much power, and great patronage, as it threw into the hands of the people the election of some officers who had previously been appointed by the executive, and established a legislature that relieved the governor of many of his responsibilities.

In this place it may not be amiss to mention an occurrence which establishes the purity of Mr. Harrison's administration, while it reflects high credit on his private character. A person who had become soured against him, in consequence of the active part which he took in elevating the territory into the second grade of government, made some malicious insinuations in reference to the integrity of his negotiations with certain of the Indian tribes. Governor Harrison, conceiving it proper to have a full investigation of the charge, while the subject was fresh, and the testimony within his reach, brought a suit against the defamer, in the supreme court of the territory. In order that the utmost fairness might be observed, two of the judges left the bench during the trial; one being the personal friend of the governor, and the other of the defendant. An impartial jury was

impannelled, by a mode satisfactory to both parties. The trial had not advanced far before the defendant's counsel abandoned their plea of justification, and contended simply for a mitigation of damages. The jury, after an hour's consultation, returned a verdict for 4000 dollars; an immense verdict in a new country, where money is scarce, and where juries seldom give heavy damages in cases of this description. The property of the defendant was levied upon, sold, and in the absence of the governor bought in by his agent. Two-thirds of the property were afterwards returned to the defendant by General Harrison, and the remainder given to the orphans of some of the gallant citizens who fell in battle during the last war.

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of Indiana—The Governor's addresses to the Legislature.

The speeches of Governor Harrison to the legislature, which was established when Indiana came into the second grade of government, are also worthy of notice. These embrace all the topics of legislation proper for a people just assuming their political rights, and preparing for admission into the union. They show an intimate acquaintance with the science of government, and with the condition of that population, and are characterized by an ardent love for the great principles of freedom. They evince also, that the office of governor was not a sinecure in the hands of Mr. Harrison, and that he participated largely in the organization of all the civil institutions of that state. Many men have been popular governors, whose good qualities were all of a negative character; they have been respected by the people because they did no harm, and beloved by the members of the legislature because they left to them all the labour and the credit of ruling. Mr. Harrison took his full share of duty and responsibility, and yet was popular.

We shall make some quotations from these documents, for the purpose of showing the benign and republican spirit in which Mr. Harrison wrote, as well as the ease and vigour of his style as a writer. The following is an extract from his first message, in 1805 :—

"Upon a careful review of our situation, it will be found that we have much cause of felicitation, whether it respects our present enjoyments, or our future prosperity. An enlightened and generous policy has for ever removed all cause of contention with our western neighbours. The mighty river which separates us from the Louisianians will never be stained with the blood of contending nations, but will prove the bond of our union, and will convey upon its bosom, in the course of many thousand miles, the produce of our great and united empire. The astonished traveller will behold upon either bank a people governed by the same laws, pursuing the same objects, and warmed with the same love of liberty and science. And if, in the immense distance, a small point should present itself, where other laws and other manners prevail, the contrast it will afford will serve the useful purpose of demonstrating the great superiority of a republican government, and how far the uncontrolled and unbiassed industry of freemen excels the cautious and measured exertions of the subjects of despotic power.

"The acquisition of Louisiana will form an important epoch in the history of our country. It has secured the happiness of millions, who will bless the moment of their emancipation, and the generous policy which has secured to them the rights of men. To us it has produced immediate and important advantages. We are no longer apprehensive of waging an eternal war with the numerous and warlike tribes of aborigines that surround us, and perhaps being reduced to the dreadful alternative of submitting to their depredations, or of exterminating them from the earth.

"By cutting off their communication with every foreign power, and forcing them to procure from ourselves the arms and ammunition, and such of the European manufactures as habit has to them rendered necessary, we have not only secured their entire dependence, but the means of ameliorating their condition, and of devoting to some useful and beneficial purpose the ardour and energy of mind which are now devoted to war and destruction. The policy of the United States, with regard to the savages within their territories, forms a striking contrast with the conduct of other civilized nations. The measures of the latter appear to have been well calculated for the effect which has produced the entire extirpation of the unhappy people whose country they have usurped. It is in the United States alone that laws have been passed, not only

for their safety and protection from every species of injury, but considerable sums of money have been appropriated, and agents employed, to humanize their minds, and instruct them in such arts of civilized life as they are capable of receiving. To provide a substitute for the chase, from which they derive their support, and which, from the extension of our settlements is daily becoming more precarious, has been considered a sacred duty. The humane and benevolent intentions of the government, however, will for ever be defeated, unless effectual measures be devised to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to those unhappy people. The law which has been passed by Congress for that purpose, has been found entirely ineffectual, because its operation has been construed to relate to the Indian country exclusively. In calling your attention to this subject, gentlemen, I am persuaded that it is unnecessary to remind you, that the article of compact makes it your duty to attend to it. The interests of your constituents, the interests of the miserable Indians, and your own feelings, will sufficiently urge you to take it into your most serious consideration, and provide the remedy which is to save thousands of our fellow-creatures. You are witnesses to the abuses; you have seen our towns crowded with furious and drunken savages, our streets flowing with their blood, their arms and clothing bartered for the liquor that destroys them,

and their miserable women and children enduring all the extremities of cold and hunger. So destructive has the progress of intemperance been among them, that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains, to mark the names and situation of many numerous and warlike tribes. In the energetic language of one of their orators, it is a dreadful conflagration, which spreads misery and desolation through their country, and threatens the annihilation of the whole race. Is it then to be admitted as a political axiom, that the neighbourhood of a civilized nation is incompatible with the existence of savages? Are the blessings of our republican government only to be felt by ourselves? And are the natives of North America to experience the same fate with their brethren of the southern continent? It is with you, gentlemen, to divert from those children of nature the ruin that hangs over them. Nor can I believe that the time will be considered misspent, which is devoted to an object so consistent with the spirit of Christianity, and with the principles of republicanism."

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"By a compact which is coeval with the establishment of government north-west of the Ohio, the right of being admitted, as soon as our population will justify, into the great family which composes the American union, is firmly secured to us."

The following extracts are taken from a speech delivered to the legislature in August, 1807 :—

"I have directed the auditor to lay before you, gentlemen, a statement of the causes which have produced the embarrassments in the collection of the taxes for the present year, which will enable you to determine more correctly on the remedy to be applied. An amendatory act to the one which is now in force, may answer for the present; but nothing less, in my opinion, than a total change of the system, will save us in future from the disagreeable consequences of a deficient revenue, and an empty treasury. The defects in the present system were early foreseen; and at the opening of the last session, I strongly recommended to the two houses the adoption of a different plan. The combination of so many circumstances, such as this law requires, must always render the execution of it uncertain and precarious. It appears to me also, that it is bottomed on an improper principle. The quantum and the ratio of the tax should be fixed by the legislature alone, and not by an executive officer. This important subject, gentlemen, claims your earliest attention. It will require the exercise of much industry and patience, to remedy the evils which have arisen from the present unfortunate system, and to provide one which shall give certainty and stability to your revenue. In affairs of this kind, experience is the best guide that the

legislator can follow. He will seek out cases that are parallel to the one on which he is called to act, and will thus possess himself of sure landmarks to guide him to his object. In the present instance, there is no necessity for a recurrence to foreign or distant examples; the neighbouring states afford precisely what we seek—a people similar in manners, in habits, and in the state of information, raising their revenue from the same objects. Notwithstanding the embarrassments which have hitherto attended our financial operations, there is one consolatory circumstance which has been fully established: that a revenue equal to all our necessities can be raised; and that too without oppression or inconvenience to the people."

After some remarks relative to the law for regulating marriage licenses, the governor proceeds:—

"Connected in some measure with this subject, is the law authorizing the general and circuit courts to grant divorces. The propriety and policy of a law of this kind have been strongly contested in many parts of the United States; and it is believed that the principle has been everywhere condemned, save in one or two states only. It cannot be denied that the success of one applicant for a divorce, has always the effect of producing others, and that the advantages which a few individuals may derive from the dissolution of this solemn contract, are too dearly purchased by its injurious effects upon

tne morals of the community. The scenes which are frequently exhibited in trials of this kind, are shocking to humanity. The ties of consanguinity and nature are loosened—the child is brought to give testimony against his parent—confidence and affection are destroyed—family secrets disclosed—and human nature is exhibited in its worst colours. In the time of the Roman republic, divorces might be obtained by a summary and easy process; but so great was the abhorrence of them amongst that enlightened people, that in a period of five hundred years, but one person had been found to take advantage of the privilege which the law allowed. But when their manners became corrupted by luxury, divorces became so common that applications were frequently made to the college of augurs, to ascertain the father of a child born in legal wedlock. A few years ago, there were but two instances on record, in the state of Virginia, of applications for divorce. One only of these had been successful; and although that was acknowledged to be a case which had as strong claims to indulgence as any that could happen, it was, nevertheless, opposed by some of the most enlightened patriots of that state, upon the principle that it was better for an individual to suffer some inconvenience, than that an example should be established, so injurious, as they supposed, to the morals of the community."

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"It is probable, gentlemen, that the moment is not far distant when every capable man will be called on to assume the character of a soldier. The situation of our affairs on the Atlantic coast, as well as on this frontier, makes it necessary that there should be no delay in preparing ourselves for the worst that may happen. A restless and dissatisfied disposition has manifested itself amongst some of the neighbouring tribes, and a few individuals are believed to be decidedly hostile. It gives me pleasure, however, to state that I have, within a few days, received from two of the tribes the most positive assurances of friendship, and their unalterable determination to submit themselves entirely to my direction. These assurances, though in my opinion sincere, ought not to be relied upon; and the preparations for defence ought still to go on, until the real disposition of all the tribes is perfectly ascertained. Although the agency of a foreign power, in producing the discontents among the Indians, cannot be questioned, I am persuaded that the utmost endeavours to induce them to take up arms would be unavailing, if one only, of the many persons who have committed murders on their people, could be brought to punishment. Whilst we rigorously exact of them the delivery of every murderer of a white man, the neglect on our part to punish similar offences committed on them, forms a strong and just ground of complaint, for which I can offer

no excuse or palliation. A powerful nation rendering justice to a petty tribe of savages, is a sublime spectacle, worthy of a great republic, and worthy of a people who have shown themselves as valiant in war, as in peace moderate and forbearing. I do not know, gentlemen, whether it will be in your power to remedy the evil complained of, as the defect seems to be not so much in the laws as in their execution. But if any means can be adopted, which would insure the execution of justice in cases in which the Indians are concerned, the measure would reflect honour on yourselves, and be of undoubted advantage to your country."

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The following extracts are from a speech delivered in 1809:—

"Presenting, as we do, a very extended frontier to numerous and warlike tribes of the aborigines, the state of our relations with them must always form an important and interesting feature in our local politics. It is with regret that I have to inform you that the harmony and good understanding which it is so much our interest to cultivate with those our neighbours, have for some time past experienced a considerable interruption, and that we have indeed been threatened with hostilities by a combination formed under the auspices of a bold adventurer, who pretended to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity. His character as a

prophet would not, however, have given him any very dangerous influence, if he had not been assisted by the intrigues and advice of foreign agents, and other disaffected persons, who have for years omitted no opportunity of counteracting the measures of the government with regard to the Indians, and filling their naturally jealous minds with suspicions of the justice and integrity of our views towards them.

"The circumstance which was laid hold of to encourage disaffection, on a late occasion, was the treaty made by me at Fort Wayne in the autumn of the last year. Amongst the difficulties which were to be encountered, to obtain those extinguishments of title which have proved so beneficial to the treasury of the United States, and so necessary, as the means of increasing the population of the territory, the most formidable was that of ascertaining the tribes which were to be admitted as parties to the treaties. The subject was accordingly discussed in a long correspondence between the government and myself, and the principles which were finally adopted, were made as liberal towards the Indians as a due regard to the interests of the United States would permit. Of the tribes which had formed the confederacy in the war which was terminated by the peace of Greeneville, some were residents upon the lands which were in the possession of their forefathers, at the time that the first settlements

were made in America by white people, whilst others were emigrants from distant parts of the country, and had no other claim to the tracts they occupied, than what a few years' residence, by the tacit consent of the real owners, could give. Upon common and general principles, the transfer of the title of the former description would have been sufficient to vest in the purchaser the legal right to lands so situated. But in all its transactions with the Indians, our government have not been content with doing that which was just only. Its savage neighbours have, on all occasions, experienced its liberality and benevolence. Upon this principle, in several of the treaties which have been made, several tribes have been admitted to a participation of their benefits, who had no title to the land ceded, merely because they had been accustomed to hunt upon, and derive part of their support from them. For this reason, and to prevent the Miamis, who were the real owners of the land, from experiencing any ill effects from their resentment, the Delawares, Potawatamies, and Kickapoos, were made parties to the late treaty at Fort Wayne. No other tribe was admitted, because it never had been suggested that any other could plead even the title of use or occupancy of the lands, which at that time were conveyed to the United States.

"It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming

a hostile combination against the United States had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the prophet, with regard to the lands in question, were made known. A furious clamour was then raised by the foreign agents among us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great and influential character, as he was termed; and the doing so, expressly attributed to personal ill-will on the part of the negotiator. No such ill-will did in fact exist. I accuse myself, indeed, of an error, in the patronage and support which I afforded him upon his first arrival on the Wabash, before his hostility to the United States had been developed; but on no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage called the prophet is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs, the principal of whom was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed on the part of his tribe any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of other tribes to effect the cession.

"As soon as I was informed that his dissatisfaction at the treaty was assigned as the cause of the hostile attitude which the prophet had assumed, I sent to inform him, that whatever claims he might have to the lands which had been purchased for the United States, were not in the least affected by

that purchase; that he might come forward and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were really found to be just or equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them. His brother was deputed, and sent to me for that purpose; but far from being able to show any colour of claim, either for himself or any of his followers, his objections to the treaty were confined to the assertion, that all the lands upon the continent were the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale of any part of it could be valid, without the consent of all. A proposition so extremely absurd, and which would for ever prevent any further purchase of lands by the United States, could receive no countenance from any friend of his country. He had, however, the insolence to declare, that by the acknowledgment of that principle alone could the effects of his resentment be avoided." * * * "I have been thus particular, gentlemen, in giving you information upon the present state of our affairs with the neighbouring Indians, that you may have them fully before you, in case you should think proper to make them in any shape the subject of your deliberations. Although the management of the Indian affairs, in relation to their character as an independent people, and our trade with them in their own country, is entirely and exclusively under the control of the United States, it has been determined that the regu-

lations for the government of the latter, are of no force in our settlements. Every person has been allowed to trade with them that pleases, which proves a source of numberless abuses, of mischievous effect both to the Indians and ourselves."

"Should you think proper to pass a law, either prohibiting the trade of Indians within our settlements altogether, or confining it to the frontiers, and obliging those who follow it to take out licenses, I am persuaded that your constituents would receive much benefit. It will be worthy of your consideration, also, whether some penalty might not be advantageously imposed upon those who, by improper interference, and by circulating falsehoods among the Indians, counteract the intentions of the government, and lay the foundation for distrust and enmity which may produce the most serious consequences." * * * "Although much has been done towards the extinguishment of Indian titles in the territory, much still remains to be done. We have not sufficient space to form a tolerable state. The eastern settlements are separated from the western by a considerable extent of Indian lands, and the most fertile tracts that are within our territorial bounds, are still their property. Almost entirely divested of the game from which they have drawn their subsistence, it has become of little use to them; and it was the intention of the government to substitute for the precarious and

scanty supplies that the chase affords, the more certain support which is derived from agriculture, and the rearing of domestic animals. By the considerate and sensible amongst them, this plan is considered the only one which will save them from utter extirpation. But a most formidable opposition has been raised to it by the warriors, who will never agree to abandon their old habits, until driven to it by absolute necessity. As long as a deer is to be found in their forests, they will continue to hunt; it has therefore been supposed, that the confining them to narrow limits was the only means of producing this highly desirable change, and averting the destiny which seems to impend over them. Are then those extinguishments of native title, which are at once so beneficial to the Indians, the territory, and the United States, to be suspended upon account of the intrigues of a few individuals? Is one of the fairest portions of the globe to remain in a state of nature, the haunt of a few wretched savages, when it seems destined by the Creator to give support to a large population, and to be the seat of civilization, of science, and true religion? It may perhaps be asked, how these effects can be produced by a few persons, whose opportunities of intercourse with the Indians are so very limited. Nothing is more easy than to excite jealousy and suspicion in savages, and to make them believe they are imposed upon; and on

no subject are their passions more easily raised, than on that of their lands. Every treaty that has been made with them has proved a work of difficulty; besides their natural prejudices, the clashing interests of several tribes were to be accommodated —the injuries which they have received from the white people palliated and excused, and their fears, excited by seeing so many tribes driven from their ancient seats by the progress of our settlements, lulled or diverted by the opening of brighter prospects, as the reward of their fidelity. A single artful or imprudent observation, from a designing or careless individual, is frequently sufficient to destroy the labour of weeks, and to induce the Indians to abandon an intention which they seemed to have adopted after the maturest consideration."*

The limited size of our volume will not permit us to multiply these extracts; yet it would not be difficult to select a variety of passages from the speeches of Governor Harrison, equally creditable to his feelings and his sagacity. The whole tenour of his official communications shows a mind cultivated by study and reflection, an ardent zeal for the public service, and an enlightened benevolence towards all who came under his jurisdiction. His repeated admonitions to the legislature, and to the people, to render strict justice to the Indians, are worthy of especial notice. He never adopted

* Dawson's Life of Harrison.

towards the unfortunate savages the reckless policy that tended to their extermination, or the callous inhumanity that was regardless of their rights. He met their chiefs with the dignity and the kindness that became his station as the high functionary of a civilized government; he heard their complaints with patience, and replied to them in the language of conciliation; while he laboriously endeavoured to impress on his own people the observance of justice and humanity. During his long administration, though continually harassed by the jealousy, the vindictiveness, and the treachery of the Indians, there is no instance of a passionate act of revenge on his part. He was always calm, moderate, and forbearing. Though dauntless and decisive when called to the field, he was merciful and considerate as a civil magistrate.

Nor did he neglect any of the various civil duties which were confided to his care. All the departments of the government were modelled under his direction; and in his communications to the legislature, the various subjects of legislation are freely discussed. His speeches are frank and manly; and he writes with the ease, correctness, and precision of one who was accustomed to think with clearness, and who possessed in a high degree the faculty of fluent expression. Few of our public documents will be found to be couched in better language than those of Governor Harrison.

CHAPTER VII.

Intrigues of Tecumthe and the Prophet—State of the frontier—Machinations of the British agents—Popularity of Mr. Harrison.

In the year 1806, the celebrated impostor Ol-li-wa-chi-ca, the prophet, called by some writers, from what authority we know not, Els-kwa-taw-a, and his distinguished brother Tecumthe, began to disturb the frontier of Indiana, by a series of intrigues which produced the most calamitous results. Tecumthe had matured a plan, suggested to him, as is said, by the celebrated Red Jacket,—a plan which the great Pontiac had attempted in vain, and which Little Turtle, another lofty spirit, was supposed to have favoured—to unite all the western tribes in a league against the white people, under the vain expectation that the combined Indian force would be sufficient to destroy all the western settlements, and drive the whites out of the great valley of the Mississippi. To effect this object, that crafty and daring warrior traversed the whole frontier, visited the different tribes, appealed earnestly to their prejudices, stirred up the recollection of their wrongs, and exerted upon them the subtle

diplomacy, and masterly eloquence, in both which he was so consummately skilled.

The two brothers, who were born at the same birth, differed widely in character, but were well fitted to act together in the prosecution of such an enterprise. The Indian name of the prophet signified literally "*a door opened*," in allusion probably to the way of deliverance he was expected to point out to the red men; while the interpretation of the word Tecumthe is, "*a panther crouching*."

Tecumthe was a daring and sagacious man—a shrewd and fluent orator, an able military chief, and a successful negotiator. He was full of enthusiasm, and fertile of expedient. He possessed an intuitive hatred towards the white men, against whom he had sworn eternal vengeance, and with whom he held himself bound to observe no measures of conciliation, until the purposes to which he had devoted himself should be accomplished. Peculiarly gifted in that kind of tact which distinguishes the artful demagogue, he appealed successfully to the people—touched artfully upon topics which awakened the vanity, the hatred, or the love of plunder of the Indian; and although the chiefs held back from motives of policy, and the old men paused at the prospect of a warfare which would cut off their annuities, and expose them to the vengeance of a powerful nation, the younger warriors panted to follow him to the spoil of the white man.

The daring and improvident, the indolent, the thoughtless, and the intemperate—all the loose elements of society in the native villages—those who were careless of consequences, and to whom no change could be productive of injury—these were especially the minds to which Tecumthe addressed himself; while to the more prudent class he used arguments which at least won their respect, and in some measure disarmed opposition.

The prophet possessed none of the manly qualities of Tecumthe. He had no name in war, and was an indifferent hunter. He was crafty, cruel, pusillanimous, and haughty. He was also lazy and sensual, and, under various pretexts, obtained a livelihood by extorting supplies of food and other necessaries from the Indians. A variety of accidental circumstances gave him an ascendancy over the Indians, which his own talents could not have earned—the condition of the frontier, the superstition of the savages, and the powerful protection of Tecumthe, who affected to treat his brother as a superior being.

The superior mind of Tecumthe had obtained a complete mastery over that of the prophet; and when in council together, the latter never spoke. He was, however, a better speaker than Tecumthe, and his manner is said to have been more graceful than that of any other Indian. Without the dignity

of Tecumthe, he possessed more persuasion and plausibility.

The project of governing the Indians through the medium of a person supposed to be in immediate communication with the Great Spirit, probably originated with Tecumthe, who found a suitable instrument in his cunning and unprincipled brother. The Shawanese, to which tribe they belonged, had long held the belief that they were the favourite tribe, in the estimation of the Great Spirit. In a speech made to Governor Harrison in 1803, an old man of that nation said that the Shawanese had once possessed all the knowledge in the world, but that having offended the Great Spirit, he had taken it from them and lent it to the white people, who would soon be obliged to surrender it to the Shawanese. Acting upon this delusion, the prophet commenced a series of incantations, and from time to time communicated the supposed results of his intercourse with the Great Spirit. He uttered the most extravagant prophecies, in reference to the speedy downfall of the whites, the restoration of the Indians to all their former hunting-grounds, and the resumption of the customs of their ancestors. To hasten this desirable end, the Indians were admonished to abstain from the use of all articles manufactured by the whites, and to cease their intercourse with that hated race. Tecumthe acted upon this plan. He seldom ate with a white

man, and uniformly declined all articles of food which were peculiar to our tables, unless when necessity compelled him to eat them.

The consequences of these intrigues may be readily imagined. The plans of the government in reference to the Indians were completely thwarted. Confidence between the parties was shaken, and it became equally difficult to protect the settlements, and to carry into effect the benevolent measures which had been planned for the amelioration of the condition of the savage.

Nor were the obstacles to the establishment of harmonious relations, those only which were raised by the Indians. Although the government desired to treat the tribes with kindness and liberality, and its views were ably seconded by Governor Harrison, there was no corresponding spirit of conciliation on the part of the people of the settlements. Mutual and long-continued injuries had engrafted upon the minds of both parties a deadly feeling of hatred, which continually broke out in acts of aggression. The white people intruded into the hunting-grounds of the Indians, and destroyed the game, without which the latter could not subsist. Hunters from distant settlements—from Kentucky and Ohio, —passed frequently into the Indian territory; and as they killed deer, bear, and buffalo, merely for the skins, the havoc committed by them was far greater than that of the savages, who followed the

chase only to procure food. In many places the game was almost entirely destroyed. The Indians, in return for these injuries, destroyed the hogs and cattle of the nearest settlers, believing the retaliation fair, and not waiting to inquire whether it fell upon the proper aggressor.

A still more prolific source of discord was the illicit trade carried on with the Indians, by a few mercenary white men. Congress had passed laws to regulate the traffic with the tribes, and to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to any of that race; but the courts had so construed those laws as to confine their operation to the Indian territory, and had pronounced them inoperative within any state, or organized territorial government. The most shocking disorders resulted, in all the villages bordering on the frontier. The means of intoxication were furnished to the Indians, and they were cheated out of their furs and peltries. Governor Harrison, in one of his letters to the Secretary of War, remarks: "I have had much difficulty with the small tribes in this neighbourhood, viz. the Piankishaws, the Weas, and the Eel River Miamis. These three tribes form a body of the most depraved wretches upon earth. They are daily in this town in considerable numbers; and are frequently intoxicated to the number of thirty or forty at once, when they commit the greatest disorders, drawing their knives, and stabbing every one they meet

with; breaking open the houses of citizens; killing their cattle and hogs, and breaking down their fences. But in all their frolics they generally suffer most themselves; they kill each other without mercy."*

"The Indian chiefs complain heavily of the mischiefs produced by the enormous quantity of whiskey which the traders introduce into their country. I do not believe that there are more than six hundred warriors upon the Wabash, and yet the quantity of whiskey brought here annually for their consumption, is said to amount to six thousand gallons. This noxious liquor not only incapacitates them to obtain a living by hunting, but it leads to the most atrocious crimes. Killing each other has become so customary amongst them, that it is no longer thought criminal."

"Whether something ought not to be done to prevent the reproach which will attach to the American name and character, by the extirpation of so many human beings, I beg most respectfully to submit to the consideration of the President."

Among the Indians, as well as among civilized men, there are many lawless individuals, who evade, or openly defy, the established regulations of the community to which they belong. From savages of this description, the frontiers suffered

* Dawson's Life of Harrison.

much. At a time when the tribe to which they were attached was nominally at peace with us, and even when they as a body acted in good faith, small parties often stole into the settlements, and, under the cover of night, perpetrated the most atrocious acts of robbery and murder.

From these various causes, there was not at any time a season of entire peace and security. Murders were frequently committed, houses were burned, property was stolen, and horses—without which the farmer could not carry on his labours, which were indispensable in the defence of the country, and could not be replaced—were carried away. Retaliation followed; and the governor was continually called upon for redress, and clamorously appealed to, to lead the incensed pioneers into a war against the marauding tribes.

Under these circumstances, councils were held with the Indians, and the delicate duty devolved upon Mr. Harrison, of conducting negotiations with a people thus offending, and thus exasperated. He had to purchase their lands, and to inculcate upon them the benevolent views of the government. The various interests and opinions of the chiefs were to be conciliated, and their passions to be soothed. Some were friendly, some mercenary, and some hostile; but it was necessary to unite all in any treaty that was made.

Previous to such a council the British agents

usually paid them a visit, and, by inflammatory speeches, poisoned their minds against us. Such was the speech of Colonel M'Kee, in November, 1804. "My children," said he, "it is true that the Americans do not wish you to drink any spirituous liquors, and therefore have told their traders that they should not carry any liquor into your country—but, my children, they have no right to say that one of your father's traders, (that is, the British traders,) should carry no liquor among his children." "My children, your father, King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children supplied with every thing they want; he is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes, and stopping your ears with good words, that taste sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you." Thus also, on a similar occasion, in 1805, he said to them, "My children, there is a powerful enemy of yours to the east, now on his feet, and looks mad at you, therefore you must be on your guard; keep your weapons of war in your hands, and have a look-out for him."

While it was the duty of Governor Harrison to treat with Indians thus prejudiced and incensed, their greatest orator, Tecumthe, the firm ally of the British, the inveterate foe of the Americans, was usually present, exerting all his energies to advance his own purposes, and to defeat the intentions of our government. To effect these objects

he spared no pains—in council he spoke with the boldness of the untamed savage, or with the subtlety of the trained diplomatist, as the occasion required; and in the intervals between the sittings, he employed himself in tampering with the chiefs, or inflaming the minds of the multitude. He more than once planned the assassination of the governor; and his violent appeals and audacious conduct in the councils, on several occasions, were calculated to produce immediate hostilities.

Governor Harrison felt it his duty, on more than one occasion, to stipulate that a certain number of warriors only should attend the treaties; yet in breach of these previous arrangements, and in violation of his instructions, they often came in larger numbers, and completely armed; as if determined to overawe him by a show of power, or to perpetrate violence under the guise of friendship. The man who could sit in council, surrounded by hundreds of armed savages, burning with vindictive feelings, and in whose faith no confidence could be placed—who could witness calmly the turbulent appeals of Tecumthe to that unruly multitude, and could see the workings of their fierce natures, without betraying his own solicitude—and could control and sway them to his purposes,—must have been gifted with more than ordinary presence of mind, and powers of conciliation. He made, while governor of Indiana, *thirteen* important treaties with

the Indians, and never attempted to make one without success. By these he extinguished the Indian title to *sixty millions of acres*, for a less price than has since been given for a tenth part of that quantity. Mr. Jefferson, then President, testified publicly his approbation of these measures; and the people, as well as the legislature of Indiana, manifested their sense of the importance of Mr. Harrison's services, by complimentary resolutions. It is difficult to point out any department of the public service in which a patriotic citizen has been more honourably or usefully employed, or one requiring greater talent, application to business, and devotion to country. For thirteen years of civil service he knew neither repose nor safety. He led the life of a warrior, yet discharged the duties of the civil magistrate. He was obliged to expose his own person, and the lives of his family, to defend the homes of his people, while he was executing the laws, and building up the institutions of a new state. During all the same time, he was, on the part of his government, a minister of benevolence to the deluded tribes—inculcating peace upon them, and upon the injured citizens under his jurisdiction. When we say that duties so various, so complicated, and of such magnitude, were discharged with fidelity and success, we claim for Mr. Harrison a distinguished rank among the statesmen of his native country.

In connexion with Mr. Harrison's services as superintendent of Indian affairs, it is proper to allude here to his voluminous correspondence with the government, which was published with the official documents of that period. His numerous letters alone afford evidence of great industry, as they comprise a mass of valuable facts. They are distinguished by great minuteness of detail, showing a close and vigilant attention to all the concerns of his department, and are written with spirit and clearness. An elevated and benevolent tone of policy reigns throughout—a forbearing and kind spirit towards the Indians, becoming the high functionary of a great, civilized, and Christian people, together with a considerate regard for the interests of the population under his government. We dwell on this, because it shows great goodness of heart, and steadfastness of principle, connected with an ability for conducting public affairs.

Such was the situation occupied by Mr. Harrison during the whole period of his government of Indiana. His post was one of labour and responsibility, as well as great delicacy and danger. Instructed to pursue peace, and to avoid every appearance of a hostile or jealous disposition in his intercourse with the tribes, yet his situation rendered it necessary to be always prepared for defence. The intrigues of the British agents on our borders were at that period particularly active, and the savages

unusually fierce, turbulent, and vindictive; and while all the energy and military skill of the territorial governor were placed in requisition to defend a long line of exposed frontier against a numerous and daring enemy, the American cabinet continually instructed him to avoid hostility, to practise forbearance, and cultivate amicable relations with the savage. However consistent these instructions were with the dictates of benevolence, they were fatal to the security of the frontier; our conciliatory measures never stayed the work of desolation, but only afforded impunity to the lawless savage, while they encouraged the audacity of the foreign emissary. With the Indian war-whoop yelling on one hand, and a government commanding the peace upon the other—with a feeble settlement claiming protection at one point, and a band of martial borderers demanding to be led to battle at another—while the agents of a nation at peace with our own, urged on the savage, and her military posts supplied him with arms, there can scarcely be imagined a post requiring the exertion of greater skill, prudence, and firmness, than that of the governor of Indiana. Yet Mr. Harrison filled that station with honour, and while he gave efficient protection to the frontier, never sullied his fame by any act of military violence or gratuitous cruelty. The popularity of his administration is best illustrated by the fact, that at every expiration of his commission, he was

recommended for re-appointment by the people. On his first entrance upon the duties of his office, he had declared his intention not to hold the station a moment longer than his administration should be satisfactory to the citizens of the territory; and at their request, his successive re-appointments were given by Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison.

It may not be improper to add here a few of the evidences which are upon record, of the decided approbation with which his conduct as a public officer was viewed by those who witnessed his services, and over whom his administration extended. The following is the expression of the sentiments of the citizens of St. Louis, on the occasion when their connexion with the territory of Indiana was about to cease:—

"To his Excellency WILLIAM H. HARRISON, Governor, and the honourable the Judges of the Indiana Territory.

"GENTLEMEN,

"An arduous public service assigned you by the general government of the United States, is about to cease. The eve of the anniversary of American Independence will close the scene; and on that celebrated festival will be organized, under the most auspicious circumstances, a government for the territory of Louisiana. Local situation and circumstances forbid the possibility of a perma-

nent political connexion. This change, however congenial to our wishes, and conducive to our happiness, will not take effect without a respectful expression of our sentiments to you, gentlemen, for your assiduity, attention, and disinterested punctuality, in the temporary administration of the government of Louisiana.

"St. Louis, July 2, 1805."

The officers of the militia, in the district of St. Louis, presented to Governor Harrison an address on the same occasion, which concludes with the following remark:—

"Accept, sir, these sentiments as the pledge of our affectionate attachment to you, and to the magnanimous policy by which you have been guided. May the chief magistrate of the American nation duly estimate your worth and talents, and long keep you in a station where you have it in your power to gain hearts by virtuous actions, and promulgate laws among men who know how to respect you, and are acquainted with the extent of their own rights."

The Legislative Council, at its first session, in an address to the governor, said:—

"The confidence which our fellow-citizens have uniformly had in your administration is such, that they have hitherto had no reason to be jealous of the unlimited power which you possess over our

legislative proceedings. We however cannot help regretting that such powers should have been lodged in the hands of any one; especially when it is recollected to what dangerous lengths the exercise of those powers may be extended."

The House of Representatives, on the same occasion, used the following language:—

"Accept, sir, the thanks of the House of Representatives for the speech you made to both houses, on the opening of the present session. In it we discern the solicitude for the future happiness and prosperity of the territory, which has uniformly been evinced by your past administration."

In the year 1809, the House of Representatives of Indiana *unanimously* requested the re-appointment of Governor Harrison. The following is an extract from their resolution:—

"They cannot forbear recommending to, and requesting of, the President and Senate, most earnestly in their own names, and in the names of their constituents, the re-appointment of their present governor, William Henry Harrison,—because he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow-citizens;—because they believe him sincerely attached to the union, the prosperity of the United States, and the administration of its government;—because they believe him in a superior degree capable of promoting the interest of our territory, from long experience and

laborious attention to its concerns, from his influence over the Indians, and wise and disinterested management of that department;—and because they have confidence in his virtues, talents, and republicanism."

The other branch concurred in this resolution, with but two dissenting voices.

At a meeting of the officers of the militia, for the county of Knox, at which the venerable Colonel Vigo presided, in October, 1809, the following resolution was passed:—

"Resolved, That the attention paid, and the unremitted exertions used, by William Henry Harrison, to organize and discipline, by frequent trainings, the militia of the territory, and the masterly skill and great military talents displayed in such his exertions, together with the anxious solicitude with which he has ever watched over the peace and happiness of the territory; to which may be added, the confidence reposed in him by the neighbouring tribes of Indians, and the great facility and ease with which he manages their affairs,—induce this meeting to have great confidence in him, as eminently qualified to govern the territory, not only because of his superior talents, but also his integrity, patriotism, and firm attachment to the general government."

CHAPTER VIII.

Intrigues of Tecumthe—Council at Vincennes.

Up to the year 1811, Tecumthe and his brother were engaged, as we have seen, in constant intrigues against the United States. They had disturbed all the councils that were held, and endeavoured to prevent every treaty that was made. Surrounded by a lawless band, composed of desperate renegadoes from various tribes, by the young and hot, the dissolute and dishonest, they scarcely practised even the Punic faith of the Indian code. They asserted that all the lands inhabited by Indians belonged to the tribes indiscriminately—that no tribe had a right to transfer any soil to the whites without the assent of all—and that, consequently, all the treaties that had been made were invalid.

In 1808, the prophet established his principal place of rendezvous on the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe—a spot which soon became known as the Prophet's Town. Here a thousand young warriors, such as we have described, rallied around him; sallying forth in greater or smaller parties, to commit the most atrocious deeds

of depredation and murder, along the whole frontier of Indiana. Vincennes, the seat of government, was often threatened; and the governor's house was scarcely considered safe from the intrusion of the maddened savages. But the prophet, while he exercised his priestly function in such a manner as to excite the superstition of his motley crew of followers, was indolent, sensual, and cowardly; and his mal-administration soon reduced the number of his followers to less than three hundred. Even these were so much impoverished by their excesses and improvidence, that on one occasion they must have starved, had not the benevolence of Governor Harrison induced him to send them a supply of provisions. The return of Tecumthe, who had been absent on a visit to the distant tribes, restored order.

In 1809, Governor Harrison purchased from the Delawares, Miamis, and Potawatamies, a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up that river about sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumthe was absent, and his brother, not feeling himself interested, made no opposition to the treaty; but the former, on his return, expressed great dissatisfaction, and threatened some of the chiefs with death, who had made the treaty. Governor Harrison, hearing of his displeasure, dispatched a messenger to invite him to come to Vincennes, and to assure him, "that any claims he

might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be valid, the land would either be given up, or an ample compensation made for it."

Having no confidence in the faith of Tecumthe, the governor directed that he should not bring with him more than thirty warriors; but he came with four hundred, completely armed. The people of Vincennes were in great alarm, nor was the governor without apprehension that treachery was intended. This suspicion was not diminished by the conduct of the chief, who, on the morning after his arrival, refused to hold the council at the place appointed, under an affected belief that treachery was intended on our side.

A large portico in front of the governor's house had been prepared for the purpose with seats, as well for the Indians, as for the citizens who were expected to attend. When Tecumthe came from his camp, with about forty of his warriors, he stood off, and on being invited by the governor, through an interpreter, to take his seat, refused, observing that he wished the council to be held under the shade of some trees in front of the house. When it was objected that it would be troublesome to remove the seats, he replied, "that it would only be necessary to remove those intended for the

whites—that the red men were accustomed to sit upon the earth, which was their mother, and that they were always happy to recline upon her bosom."

At this council, held on the 12th of August, 1810, Tecumthe delivered a speech, of which we find the following report, containing the sentiments uttered, but in a language very different from that of the Indian orator:—

"I have made myself what I am; and I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Great Spirit, that rules over all. I would not then come to Governor Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty; but I would say to him, Brother, you have liberty to return to your own country. Once there was no white man in all this country: then it belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit to keep it, to travel over it, to eat its fruits, and fill it with the same race—once a happy race, but now made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes—but we are determined to go no further. The only way to stop this evil, is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be now—for it never

was divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers, who demand all, and will take no less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians who had it first—it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all, is not good. The late sale is bad—it was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all."

Governor Harrison, in his reply, said, "that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent, had found the Miamis in the occupation of all the country of the Wabash; and at that time the Shawanese were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language. That the Miamis had found it for their interest to sell a part of their lands, and receive for them a further annuity, in addition to what they had long enjoyed, and the benefit of which they had experienced, from the punctuality with which the *seventeen fires* complied with their engagements; and that the Shawanese

had no right to come from a distant country, to control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property."

The interpreter had scarcely finished the explanation of these remarks, when Tecumthe fiercely exclaimed, "It is false!" and giving a signal to his warriors, they sprang upon their feet, from the green grass on which they were sitting, and seized their war-clubs. The governor, and the small train that surrounded him, were now in imminent danger. He was attended by a few citizens, who were unarmed. A military guard of twelve men, who had been stationed near him, and whose presence was considered rather as an honorary than a defensive measure,—being exposed, as it was thought unnecessarily, to the heat of the sun in a sultry August day, had been humanely directed by the governor to remove to a shaded spot at some distance. But the governor, retaining his presence of mind, rose and placed his hand upon his sword, at the same time directing those of his friends and suite who were about him, to stand upon their guard. Tecumthe addressed the Indians in a passionate tone, and with violent gesticulations. Major G. R. C. Floyd, of the U. S. army, who stood near the governor, drew his dirk; Winnemak, a friendly chief, cocked his pistol, and Mr. Winans, a Methodist preacher, ran to the governor's house, seized a gun, and placed himself in the door

to defend the family. For a few moments all expected a bloody rencounter. The guard was ordered up, and would instantly have fired upon the Indians, had it not been for the coolness of Governor Harrison, who restrained them. He then calmly, but authoritatively, told Tecumthe, that "he was a bad man—that he would have no further talk with him—that he must return now to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements immediately."

The next morning, Tecumthe having reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and finding that he had to deal with a man as bold and vigilant as himself, who was not to be daunted by his audacious turbulence, nor circumvented by his specious manœuvres, apologized for the affront he had offered, and begged that the council might be renewed. To this the governor consented, suppressing any feeling of resentment which he might naturally have felt, and determined to leave no exertion untried, to carry into effect the pacific views of the government. It was agreed that each party should have the same attendance as on the previous day; but the governor took the precaution to place himself in an attitude to command respect, and to protect the inhabitants of Vincennes from violence, by ordering two companies of militia to be placed on duty within the village.

Tecumthe presented himself with the same un-

daunted bearing which always marked him as a superior man; but he was now dignified and collected, and showed no disposition to resume his former insolent deportment. He disclaimed having entertained any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white men to do as he had done. Two white men—British emissaries undoubtedly—had visited him at his place of residence, had told him that half the white people were opposed to the governor, and willing to relinquish the land, and urged him to advise the tribes not to receive pay for it, alleging that the governor would soon be recalled, and a good man put in his place, who would give up the land to the Indians. The governor inquired whether he would forcibly oppose the survey of the purchase. He replied, that he was determined to adhere to the *old boundary*. Then arose a Wyandot, a Kickapoo, a Potawatamie, an Ottawa, and a Winnebago chief, each declaring his determination to stand by Tecumthe. The governor then said that the words of Tecumthe should be reported to the President, who would take measures to enforce the treaty; and the council ended.

The governor, still anxious to conciliate the haughty savage, paid him a visit next day at his own camp. He was received with kindness and attention,—his uniform courtesy, and inflexible firmness, having won the respect of the rude war-

riors of the forest. They conversed for some time, but Tecumthe obstinately adhered to all his former positions; and when Governor Harrison told him, that he was sure the President would not yield to his pretensions, the chief replied, "Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off, he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out."

This is an accurate account of an interesting council, the proceedings of which have been much misrepresented. A love for the romantic and the marvellous has induced speeches to be written for Tecumthe, which were never delivered. His conduct was distinguished on this occasion by violence, not by eloquence; his art was displayed in attempts to intimidate the Americans, and to create an affray, by stirring up the vindictive feelings of his followers, and not by any display of argument.

CHAPTER IX.

Hostilities commenced — Governor Harrison directed to march against the Prophet's Town.

In 1811, the near approach of a war between the United States and Great Britain, rendered Tecumthe and his brother more audacious than ever. They began to assemble a new body of warriors at the Prophet's Town; the impostor practised his infernal incantations with great industry, and his gift of prophecy renewed itself with invigorated fecundity; marauding parties roved more frequently than ever towards the settlements; and a number of murders were committed on the frontiers of Illinois and Indiana. These circumstances induced the governor to place the territory in the best posture for defence which its limited resources would admit; and he was soon after, at his own earnest instance, and the repeated petitions of the people, directed by the President to move with an armed force towards the Prophet's Town. But he was imperatively commanded to avoid hostilities, "of any kind, or to any degree, not indispensably required."

The situation of a commander, thus ordered to

the field with a limited discretion, which gave every advantage to the enemy, while it placed his own troops in constant jeopardy, was by no means enviable. At the head of undisciplined troops, always difficult to control, and now panting for revenge, a continued exertion of prudence was required, to restrain their impatience. Before him was a numerous army prepared for war, and led by an accomplished leader; behind him a long line of scattered settlements, the safety of which depended on his success. With the conviction, founded on evidence that could scarcely be deceptive, that a battle must be fought, the event of which must decide the fate of hundreds of defenceless women and children, he was shackled by instructions which gave to his foe the important advantage of choosing the time and place of attack, of selecting his own ground, and striking the first blow. He was to fight when attacked, but not till then—when the prophet should decide that the propitious hour had arrived—when the savage chieftain should have matured his plan, and the shadows of the forest should be deepened by the gloom of a moonless night.

When the news reached Kentucky, that Governor Harrison was authorized to march against the Indians, the public mind was excited to enthusiasm. So many years had been spent in suffering, so long had the Indians and their British allies devastated the frontier, that an opportunity for vengeance was

hailed with universal acclamation. The name of Harrison excited confidence and expectation. The western people had long witnessed his sterling patriotism, his unyielding intrepidity, his untiring industry in the public service; and volunteers at once announced their readiness to follow his standard. Many of them were men of high standing for military and civil character. Of this number were General Samuel Wells of the militia, who had been actively engaged in the former wars with the Indians—Joseph H. Daviess, an eminent lawyer, and a man of extraordinary talents, eloquence, and popularity—Colonel Abraham Owen, a veteran warrior in Indian warfare—and Colonel Guiger, who raised a small company of young men near Louisville; in this army also were Croghan, O'Fallon, Shipp, Cheem, and Edwards, who afterwards distinguished themselves as officers in the army of the United States.

The 4th regiment of United States infantry, commanded by Colonel Boyd, was placed under the orders of Governor Harrison, at his request; and the army then consisted of little more than nine hundred men, of whom about three hundred and fifty were infantry of the regular service, and the remainder volunteer militia, of whom the chief portion were from Indiana, and sixty or seventy men from Kentucky. One hundred and twenty were dragoons. The governor in person exercised these

troops, in that mode of formation which had been so successfully practised by Wayne; giving them the instruction which was equally necessary for the regular troops and the militia, as this kind of manœuvring was entirely new to the former.

On the 28th of October, 1811, the march was commenced from Fort Harrison, a post on the Wabash about sixty miles above Vincennes. In the mean while an attempt was made, through the intervention of the Delaware and Miami tribes, to induce the prophet to deliver up the murderers and stolen horses. The impostor and his council treated these overtures with insolence, and rejected them with disdain. To leave no doubt of their intentions, a small war-party was detached to commence hostilities; who, not meeting with any stragglers from our camp, advanced to the vicinity of the army, and fired upon a sentinel.

The march to Tippecanoe was conducted with great prudence. The troops were encamped in the order of battle; and they marched in a form from which that order could be assumed with facility, at a moment's warning: the infantry in two columns, in single file on each side of the trace, so that by a single conversion they could be formed in two lines to receive the enemy at any point, or be reduced into a hollow square—the cavalry, and mounted riflemen, of the latter of which there were two companies, covering the advance, flank, and

rear, and exchanging positions with each other as the ground varied, so as to keep them upon that which best suited the mode of fighting they practised respectively. The utmost vigilance was used to guard against surprise; to prevent the Indians from availing themselves of the art of ambuscading, in which they are perfectly skilled; and to save the army from being attacked in a disadvantageous position.

The country through which the army passed was chiefly open, beautiful prairie, intersected by thick woods, deep creeks, and ravines. At some distance above Fort Harrison, two routes were presented to the choice of the commander. The one leading along the south side of the Wabash, was the shorter; but it passed through a woody uneven country, while that on the other side led over wide plains, affording few coverts for the protection of the insidious foe. To deceive the enemy, the governor caused a road to be marked on the south side, advanced upon it for a short distance, and then suddenly changed his direction, and by a masterly operation threw his army across the river, to the right bank.

The Indians were completely deceived by this manœuvre, and their stratagems defeated. After crossing the Wabash, our army continued to advance for three days, without seeing an Indian, or discovering any recent sign. But the vigilance of

the governor was not diminished; his experience had taught him, that the Indians are expert in lulling the suspicions of an enemy, and that the storm of their vengeance is often preceded by a deceptive calm.

For the purpose of keeping himself advised as to the position of the enemy, whose peculiar tactics and mode of life enable them to elude with facility the pursuit of a regular force, the governor had, from the commencement of his march, adopted the plan of keeping up an intercourse with them through five of the friendly Indians, and a Frenchman, who were sent from Fort Harrison, and were to meet him on the way. For several days he had heard nothing of the persons thus employed, and their delay in returning became a subject of serious uneasiness. The hostile Indians had avoided our troops during the whole march, and some uncertainty began to be created as to their position and intentions. It was doubtful whether they were ambushed in advance, whether they had retired to the Prophet's Town to make a stand there, or had passed the flanks of the army, for the purpose of falling upon the settlements in its rear. The last was a manœuvre entirely practicable; and it was one greatly to be dreaded, as it would have brought the horrors of war to the domestic fireside, and have caused a vast destruction of life and property.

Vincennes was at this time an outpost in the

wilderness—the most westward of a narrow and loosely connected line of settlements, extending across the territory of Indiana, from the falls of Ohio. It was a line having length without much breadth or solidity—having little strength in itself, and difficult to be protected. A large proportion of the able-bodied men were in the army, leaving their homes defenceless, and the country exposed to almost certain destruction, should a sudden inroad be made by the Indians.

The uncertainty of the position of the enemy threw upon Governor Harrison a heavy weight of responsibility. Had he been opposed to a regular army, it would have been his duty to know its position, and to become advised of its movements, in accordance with those rules of the military art, which are familiar to the accomplished commander; and he might have been expected to interpose his force between the foe and the points to be protected, in such a manner as to insure the safety of the latter. But no army, however large or active, can present a barrier against an irruption of savages, who, having no artillery, baggage, nor common store of provisions, can at any moment dissolve their army into its elements, disperse themselves so as to leave no organized force, and re-unite at any point proposed to be attacked—who can pass the forest without roads, and the rivers without bridges, and leave scarcely a trace of their foot-prints.

Such circumstances were calculated to create great anxiety in the mind of a commander; and especially when, as the civil chief magistrate, as well as the military head, the whole responsibility rested upon himself, and it became his duty to protect the houses of his people from outrage, while he was invading the strong-hold of the enemy. After crossing the river, the suspense of the governor, on this intensely interesting subject, became painful. Anxious as he was to push forward, the idea that the enemy might even now be rushing upon the settlements, caused deep solicitude for the safety of the defenceless population at home—and had he retraced his steps, the measure would have been one of such obvious prudence, that no military man would have been found to censure it.

These reflections pressed upon the governor's mind so heavily as to become painful, and to drive away the sleep which is usually so sound to him, who lies wrapped in his blanket by the camp fire, after a weary day's march. He determined to persevere in his march upon the Tippecanoe Town, but to make further provision for the protection of the settlements; he rose one night from the hard couch of the border leader, and dispatched his orderly for Major Jordan of the Indiana volunteers, in whom he had great confidence. He directed that officer to take forty picked men, and return to

Vincennes, to protect that post, and to place that, and the other settlements, upon their guard.

The order to Jordan was minute, as well in relation to his conduct on reaching the settlement, as in case of disaster to the army. In the latter event, he directed him to fortify the court-house in Vincennes, and other houses capable of defence, and place in them the women and children, and to send expresses to the governor of Kentucky, inviting volunteers from that state. By this conveyance he wrote to his friend Dr. Scott of Frankfort, who had come to Vincennes to attend Mrs. Harrison in an expected indisposition, and to remain with the governor's family during his absence. This gentleman, who had served in the army of Wayne with Harrison, had written him a letter from Vincennes, urging him to caution, reminding him of the subtle nature of his enemy, and that his honour, as well as his life, depended upon his circumspection. In his letter, by Major Jordan, the governor informed his friend that his only uneasiness was for the wives and children of himself and his gallant fellow-soldiers. That although his force was much smaller than it should have been for such an expedition, he had no fears for the issue of the campaign. That he well understood the danger to which he was personally exposed, from the knowledge which the Indians had of his person, and their hostility towards him. But that his life was in the hands

of Providence, and his friend might rest assured that he would bring no disgrace upon the character of a pupil of Wayne. In the event of his fall, he recommended his family to the care of his friend.*

Major Jordan proceeded reluctantly on this duty, which, although it imposed an honourable service, withdrew him from the active scenes of the campaign, and deprived him of his share of the anticipated laurels.

On the 4th of November, the army reached Pine creek, and prepared to cross its difficult pass. This stream presents a character not usually found in that region of country. Its course, for many miles above its confluence with the Wabash, is through a deep channel, worn into an immense mass of

* Dr. Scott, the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed, afterwards commanded the 1st regiment of Kentucky volunteers under General Harrison. His regiment composed a part of the detachment ordered by the general from Fort Wayne, to destroy the Potawatamie towns at Elk Hart. Being in bad health, the general desired him not to accompany the detachment, assuring him that there would be no fighting, as the Indians could not assemble in that quarter, in time to make head against the detachment. In despite of these remonstrances, the gallant colonel appeared at the head of his regiment, and declared that no other person should lead it towards the enemy, while he was able to mount his horse. The service was effected without opposition; but the patriotic colonel was taken ill upon his return, and shortly afterwards expired, a victim to his high sense of military etiquette.

rock, the sides of which, in many places, are formed into perpendicular precipices. But few crossing-places can be found, and these are approached by deep, narrow, and difficult defiles, in passing which the order of a regular army must be broken, and its troops exposed, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, to the danger of an ambuscade. The Indian path upon which our gallant troops were then marching, led to one of these dangerous defiles. It had been selected for an ambuscade in the year 1786, when General George Rogers Clarke led an expedition into the Indian country, and afterwards in 1790, when Colonel Hamtramck marched a body of troops against the same enemy. With a knowledge of these facts, the governor skilfully avoided the danger, by suddenly quitting the usual trail when near the place of crossing, and passing the creek at another place, which he had caused to be reconnoitred during the preceding night. It is by such attention to details, and such ready adaptation of measures to present circumstances, that the talents of the consummate commander are displayed. To be brave and skilful in battle is highly meritorious; but to be wise and prudent in guarding against defeat, in securing the means of victory, and in sparing the effusion of blood, requires military genius and knowledge of the highest order. Leaders have gained brilliant names by their success in a single battle—and those who risk life for

their country, deserve that country's gratitude; but how much greater is the merit of the commander, who by unceasing vigilance preserves the lives of his brave countrymen who follow his banner, while he leads them, by a carefully matured plan, to ultimate victory, and at the same time that he gains unfading glory for his country, demonstrates that his triumph is not the result of a blind chance!

CHAPTER X.

Battle of Tippecanoe.

HERETOFORE we have seen Governor Harrison employed in negotiations for peace, and earnestly endeavouring to dissuade the Indians from a war which must prove ruinous to themselves. We have seen him approaching the Indian fortress with the circumspection of an able commander, anxious to avoid hostilities, but always prepared for battle—foiling the enemy in every attempt to deceive or surprise him, and instilling into his troops the confidence, the discipline, and the obedience, which always insure victory. We are now to see him on the field of battle, and to record the events of an engagement which ranks among the most brilliant in our history, and in which he achieved a victory as complete, as it was honourable to himself and his brave army.

As this engagement has been well described by M'Affee, a gallant and accomplished Kentuckian, we shall follow his account, making some slight corrections from other authorities.

"On the evening of the 5th of November, the army encamped at the distance of nine or ten miles from the Prophet's Town. It was ascertained that

the approach of the army had been discovered before it reached Pine creek. The traces of reconnoitring parties were very often seen, but no Indians were discovered until the troops arrived within five or six miles of the town on the 6th of November. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard, to endeavour to open a communication with them. The Indians would, however, return no answer to the invitations that were made to them for that purpose, but continued to insult our people by their gestures. Within about three miles of the town, the ground became broken by ravines and covered with timber. The utmost precaution became necessary, and every difficult pass was examined by the mounted riflemen before the army was permitted to enter it. The ground being unfit for the operation of the squadron of dragoons, they were thrown in the rear. Through the whole march, the precaution had been used of changing the disposition of the different corps, that each might have the ground best suited to its operations. Within about two miles of the town, the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow wet prairie, and beyond this a level plain partially covered with oak timber, and without underbrush. Before the crossing of the creek, the woods were very thick and intersected by deep ravines. No place could be better calculated for the savages to attack

with a prospect of success, and the governor apprehended, that the moment the troops descended into the hollow, they would be attacked. A disposition was therefore made of the infantry to receive the enemy on the left and rear. A company of mounted riflemen was advanced a considerable distance from the left flank to check the approach of the enemy; and the other two companies were directed to turn the enemy's flanks, should he attack in that direction. The dragoons were ordered to move rapidly from the rear, and occupy the plain in advance of the creek, to cover the crossing of the army from an attack in front. In this order the troops were passed over; the dragoons were made to advance to give room to the infantry, and the latter having crossed the creek, were formed to receive the enemy in front in one line, with a reserve of three companies—the dragoons flanked by mounted riflemen forming the first line. During all this time, Indians were frequently seen in front and on the flanks. The interpreters endeavoured in vain to bring them to a parley. Though sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, they would return no answer, but continued by gestures to menace and insult those who addressed them. Being now arrived within a mile and a half of the town, and the situation being favourable for an encampment, the governor determined to remain there and fortify his camp, until he could hear from the friendly chiefs,

whom he had dispatched from Fort Harrison, on the day he had left it, for the purpose of making another attempt to prevent the recurrence to hostilities. These chiefs were to have met him on the way, but no intelligence was yet received from them. Whilst he was engaged in tracing out the lines of the encampment, Major Daviess and several other field officers approached him, and urged the propriety of immediately marching upon the town. The governor answered that his instructions would not justify his attacking the Indians, as long as there was a probability of their complying with the demands of the government, and that he still hoped to hear something in the course of the evening from the friendly Indians, whom he had dispatched from Fort Harrison.

"To this it was observed, that as the Indians seen hovering about the army had been frequently invited to a parley by the interpreters, who had proceeded some distance from the lines for the purpose; and as these overtures had universally been answered by menace and insult, it was very evident that it was their intention to fight; that the troops were in high spirits and full of confidence; and that advantage ought to be taken of their ardour to lead them immediately to the enemy. To this the governor answered, that he was fully sensible of the eagerness of the troops; and admitting the determined hostility of the Indians, and that

their insolence was full evidence of their intention to fight, yet he knew them too well to believe that they would ever do this but by surprise, or on ground which was entirely favourable to their mode of fighting. He was therefore determined not to advance with the troops, until he knew precisely the situation of the town, and the ground adjacent to it, particularly that which intervened between it and the place where the army then was—that it was their duty to fight when they came in contact with the enemy—it was his to take care that they should not engage in a situation where their valour would be useless, and where a corps upon which he placed great reliance would be unable to act—that the experience of the last two hours ought to convince every officer, that no reliance should be placed upon the guides, as to the topography of the country—that relying on their information, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavourable, that but for the celerity with which they changed their position, a few Indians might have destroyed them: he was therefore determined not to advance to the town, until he had previously reconnoitred, either in person, or by some one on whose judgment he could rely. Major Daviess immediately replied, that from the right of the position of the dragoons, which was still in front, the openings made by the low grounds of the Wabash could be seen; that with his adju-

tant D. Floyd, he had advanced to the bank, which descends to the low grounds, and had a fair view of the cultivated fields and the houses of the town; and that the open woods, in which the troops then were, continued without interruption to the town. Upon this information, the governor said he would advance, provided he could get any proper person to go to the town with a flag. Captain T. Dubois of Vincennes having offered his services, he was dispatched with an interpreter to the prophet, desiring to know whether he would now comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after, in order of battle. In a few moments a messenger came from Captain Dubois, informing the governor, that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, and that upon his advancing, they constantly endeavoured to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison, deeming this last effort to open a negotiation, sufficient to show his wish for an accommodation, resolved no longer to hesitate in treating the Indians as enemies. He therefore recalled Captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal counsellor to the prophet. They were sent, they said, to

know why the army was advancing upon them—that the prophet wished, if possible, to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Potawatamie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the governor—and that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash.

"A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a meeting was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. The governor further informed them that he would go on to the Wabash, and encamp there for the night. Upon marching a short distance further, he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river upon a commanding eminence. Major Daviess and Adjutant Floyd had mistaken some scattering houses in the fields below, for the town itself. The ground below the town being unfavourable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with a view to obtain a better situation beyond it. The troops were in an order of march, calculated by a single conversion of companies, to form the order of battle which it had last assumed, the dragoons being in front. This corps, however, soon became entangled in ground covered with brush and tops of fallen trees. A halt was ordered, and Major Daviess directed to change position with Spencer's rifle corps, which occupied the open fields

adjacent to the river. The Indians seeing this manœuvre, at the approach of the troops towards the town, supposed that they intended to attack it, and immediately prepared for defence. Some of them sallied out, and called to the advanced corps to halt. The governor, upon this, rode forward, and requesting some of the Indians to come to him, assured them, that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to attack them—that the ground below the town on the river was not calculated for an encampment, and that it was his intention to search for a better one above. He asked if there was any other water convenient besides that which the river afforded; and an Indian with whom he was well acquainted, answered, that the creek which had been crossed two miles back, ran through the prairie to the north of the village. A halt was then ordered, and some officers sent back to examine the creek, as well as the river above the town. In half an hour, Brigade Major Marston Clarke and Major Waller Taylor returned, and reported that they had found on the creek every thing that could be desirable in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel.

"An idea was propagated by the enemies of Governor Harrison, after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place chosen by them as suitable for the attack

they intended. The place, however, was chosen by Majors Taylor and Clarke, after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of General Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country.

"The army now marched to the place selected, and encamped, late in the evening, on a dry piece of ground, which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear; through which, near the bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brushwood. On the left of the encampment, this bench of land became wider; on the right it gradually narrowed, and terminated in an abrupt point, about one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank being about eight yards wide, was filled with Captain Spencer's company of eighty men. The left flank, about one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen, under General Wells, commanding as major."

The front line was composed of one battalion of U. S. infantry, under Major Floyd, and a regiment of Indiana militia, under Colonel Bartholomew. The rear line consisted of a battalion of U. S. in-

fantry, under Captain Baen, commanding as Major, and four companies of Indiana volunteers, under Lieutenant Colonel Decker. The right flank was composed of Spencer's company of Indiana volunteer riflemen; the left flank of Robb's company of Indiana volunteers, and Guiger's, a mixed company of Kentucky and Indiana volunteers—a portion of U. S. troops turning the left front, and left rear angles respectively. The cavalry under Major Daviess were encamped in the rear of the front line, and left flank, and held in reserve as a disposable force. The encampment was not more than three-fourths of a mile from the Indian town.

"The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed in such case to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains' commands of twenty-four men and four non-commissioned officers; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

"On the night of the 6th of November, the troops went to rest, as usual, with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner, and it was the governor's invariable practice to be

ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning. On the morning of the 7th, he arose at a quarter before four o'clock, and sat by the fire conversing with the gentlemen of his family, who were reclining on their blankets waiting for the signal, which in a few minutes would have been given, for the troops to turn out. The orderly drum had already been roused for the reveillé. The moon had risen, but afforded little light, in consequence of being overshadowed by clouds, which occasionally discharged a drizzling rain. At this moment the attack commenced.

"The treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire; but one of them discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge npon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way, and abandoned their officer without making any resistance. Captain Barton's company of regulars, and Captain Guiger's company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive, and had gallantry to resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discou-

rage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valour, though but few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires of the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men"—except those opposite Barton's and Guiger's companies, which the suddenness of the attack left no time to put out.

Upon the first alarm the governor mounted his horse, and proceeded towards the point of attack; and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up, and form across the angle in the rear of Barton's and Guiger's companies. In passing through the camp towards the left of the front line, he met with Major Daviess, who informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter, and requested permission to dislodge them. In attempting this exploit he fell, mortally wounded, as did Colonel Isaac White of Indiana, who acted as a volunteer in his troop.

"In the mean time the attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies, on the right, became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The governor, in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb's company near the cen-

tre of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He led them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. While the governor was leading this company into action, Colonel Owen, his aid, was killed at his side. This gallant officer was mounted on a very white horse, and as the governor had ridden a grey on the day before, it is probable that Owen was mistaken for him, as it is certain that he was killed by one of the only Indians who broke through the lines, and who are supposed to have resolved to sacrifice themselves in an attempt to insure victory by killing the commander-in-chief. The governor happened not to be mounted on his own grey; his servant had accidentally tied that animal apart from the other horses belonging to the general staff, and in the confusion occasioned by the attack, not being able to find this horse as quickly as was desirable, the governor mounted another.

"Captain Prescott's company of U. S. infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, by order of the governor, charged upon the same Indians, and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valour. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made

with deer hoofs: they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death."

When the day dawned, Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's under Lieutenant Allbright, Captain Scott's, and Captain Wilson's, were drawn from the rear, and formed on the left flank; while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells was ordered to take command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted, and commanded by Lieutenant Wallace, to charge the enemy in that direction, which he did successfully—driving them into a swamp through which the cavalry could not pursue them. "At the same time Cook's and Lieutenant Larrabe's companies with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged the Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle."

"During the time of the contest, the prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war-song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unsuccessful, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies would be involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced, he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder."

Tecumthe was not present at this engagement. He was absent from his people, on a visit to the southern tribes, whom he was endeavouring to unite in the league he was attempting to form against the United States.

The battle of Tippecanoe gave rise to much discussion. Some were found who censured Governor Harrison, and a few claimed a part of the glory of the day for Colonel Boyd. The discontented, however, were chiefly those who were opposed to the war, and who, from party feelings, denounced as well the acts of the administration, as those of the officers appointed to carry them into effect. Mr. Harrison's well-known republican principles, his attachment to Mr. Madison, his high standing, and the zeal with which he seconded the views of the government, all conspired to render him a mark for party detraction. Time has silenced those idle rumours, and the laurels of the hero are now brightened by the gratitude and admiration of his country. The field of Tippecanoe has become classic ground; the American traveller pauses there to contemplate a scene which has become hallowed by victory; the people of Indiana contemplate with pride the battle-ground on which their militia won imperishable honour, and their infant state became enrolled in the ranks of patriotism.

But the handsome manner in which all the officers who served in that engagement have since

testified to the coolness, self-possession, and intrepidity of the general, has placed this matter in its proper light. As far as any commander is entitled to credit, independent of his army, he merits, and has received it. He shared every danger and fatigue to which his army was exposed. In the battle, he was in more peril than any other individual; for he was personally known to every Indian, and exposed himself fearlessly, on horseback, at all the points of attack, during the whole engagement. Every important movement was made by his express order.

The Kentucky legislature, notwithstanding the gloom which was spread over the state by the untimely loss of some of her most cherished and gallant sons, took an early opportunity of testifying their approbation, by the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct, in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation."

The legislature of Indiana, also, passed complimentary resolutions, in which the "superior capacity," "integrity," and "important services" of the governor, are recognized in the most grateful terms, while the militia who were in the engage-

ment, at a meeting held after their return, unanimously expressed their confidence in their leader, the cheerfulness with which they had followed him, and the opinion that their success was attributable "to his masterly conduct in the direction and manœuvring of the troops."

In 1816, a work was published at Keene, in New-Hampshire, entitled "A Journal of two campaigns of the 4th regiment of United States infantry, by Adam Walker, a private in the 4th regiment." At the thirty-first page of this book are found the following remarks, which form the conclusion of Mr. Walker's account of the battle of Tippecanoe. They were written by a person with whom General Harrison had no acquaintance, and who doubtless expressed the opinion of the common soldiers of that army.

"General Harrison received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action his voice was frequently heard, and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool, and collected manner, with which we had been used to receive them on drill or parade. The confidence of the troops in the general was unlimited."

Again he remarks, in speaking of a small portion of the militia who became dissatisfied by being detained from home longer than they had expected: "He appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination; being endowed by nature

with a heart as humane as brave, in his frequent addresses to the militia, his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as feeling, and never were they made in vain."

On the night preceding the morning of the battle, a negro man, who was among the followers of the camp, but had been missed from his duty, was found lurking near the governor's marquee, and arrested. A drum-head court-martial was called for his trial the next morning, of which Colonel Boyd was president, and the prisoner was convicted of having deserted to the enemy, under circumstances which led to the belief that he was engaged in a plan against the governor's life, and had returned secretly into camp for that purpose. The sentence was that the prisoner was guilty, and should suffer death. The sentence was approved, and it was intended that it should be carried into execution in one hour. But the troops were engaged in fortifying the camp, and could not be called off to witness the execution, and he was at last saved by the benevolence of the governor. The reasons for this lenity, as described by himself in a letter to Governor Scott of Kentucky, do great honour to his heart:—"The fact was that I began to pity him, and I could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight, he would have been executed. But when he was first taken, General Wells and Colo-

nel Owen, who were old Indian fighters, as we had no irons to put on him, had secured him after the Indian fashion. This is done by throwing a person on his back, splitting a log and cutting notches in it to receive the ankles, then replacing the severed parts, and compressing them together with forks, driven over the log into the ground. The arms are extended and tied to stakes secured in the same manner. The situation of a person thus placed, is as uneasy as can possibly be conceived. The poor wretch thus confined lay before my fire, his face receiving the rain that occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me, as if imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal, and I determined to give him another chance for his life. I had all the commissioned officers assembled, and told them that his fate depended upon them. Some were for executing him, and I believe that a majority would have been against him, but for the interference of the gallant Snelling. 'Brave comrades,' said he, 'let us save him. The wretch deserves to die; but as our commander, whose life was more particularly his object, is willing to spare him, let us also forgive him. I hope, at least, that every officer of the 4th regiment will be on the side of mercy.' Snelling prevailed; and Ben was brought to this place, where he was discharged."

This simple account of the motives which influenced Governor Harrison in the performance of an

act of magnanimous lenity, needs little comment from his biographer. It shows a heart warm with the finest feelings of humanity, and is in consonance with the whole tenor of his life, in which we find no act of irascible precipitation, military violence, or selfish revenge. The commander-in-chief of an army was not exalted so high in his own estimation, as to forget the feelings of the man; and he could pity the wretchedness of a poor negro, though that negro was an assassin employed by savages to take his life.

It appeared afterwards that another plan for his assassination had been laid by the prophet. Two Winnebago Indians had engaged to execute this detestable plan. A council was to have been held with the governor, attended with all the usual forms. The prophet and his chief men were to concede all disputed points, and the suspicion of the Americans lulled by submission. The two bravoes, who had devoted themselves to death, were to rush upon the governor at an unguarded moment, and instantly dispatch him. At this signal, the warriors were to rush from an ambuscade, and raising the terrific war-whoop, to attack our army during the confusion and dismay occasioned by the loss of its commander. Had this plan been persevered in, the governor would probably have fallen, whatever might have been the fate of the army. But it was probably too daring for the genius of the prophet,

who, when he came to take counsel of his pillow, might have reflected that his own person would be exposed in its execution. On the night preceding the day when this plan was to have been put in action, he suddenly changed his mind, and ordered the attack, telling his men that the Great Spirit had appeared to him and promised him success—and Ben, the negro, was sent into camp to murder the governor before the attack, or at its commencement.

The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most decisive engagements that ever was fought between the Indians and the whites. The numbers on either side were nearly equal; the place and time of attack were chosen by the Indians, who were the assailants; and who not only sought to surprise our troops, but fought with an audacity unprecedented in the annals of savage warfare. Laying aside the usual cunning and caution of their peculiar system of tactics, which teaches them to avoid exposure, and to strike by stealth, they boldly rushed upon the American troops, and fought hand to hand with the most desperate ferocity. They were not only completely beaten, but their loss was unusually great.

The high sense entertained by the government of the importance of this victory, is emphatically expressed in a message from the President to Congress, dated December 18, 1811. "While it is

deeply to be lamented," says Mr. Madison, "that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 9th ult., Congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valour and discipline."

It was no mean achievement which could extort from the justice of the mild and upright Madison, a compliment expressed in terms of such decided approbation.

The immediate results of this gallant victory were highly honourable to the commander-in-chief, and beneficial to the country. The frontier became quiet; the farmer resumed his labours, and the mother could press her infant to her bosom, without shuddering at the thought of the moment when its blood might be shed in her presence. As the intelligence spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, the terror of our arms pervaded the Indian country, and the numerous warriors of that wide region of wilderness assembled hastily around their respective council-fires, to deliberate on the measures which policy might dictate in such a crisis. Some of the tribes had openly, and others secretly, participated in the hostile schemes of Tecumthe and the prophet; while others had stood aloof, awaiting

the issue of the approaching contest, and prepared to congratulate the party which might prove victorious. Had Harrison been beaten, the triumphant bands of Tecumthe, reinforced by tribes hitherto neutral, would have been poured upon the settlements, the tomahawk would have been bathed in blood, and the whole frontier have been lighted up with the dreadful glare of the conflagration. The decisive blow which Harrison had struck against the Indian power, at once determined the doubts of the wavering, and quelled the rising spirit of the discontented. As far as it was possible to impress the minds of these fickle barbarians, the impression was made; and the governor was soon apprised that his bayonets had produced a deep and salutary conviction, which the admonitions of years had failed to inculcate. Deputations from a number of tribes waited upon him, to disclaim all connexion with Tecumthe, to profess their unaltered friendship towards our government, and to deprecate the consequences of the delusion which led to the recent conflict.

The conduct of these deputies was entirely different from that of the chiefs and warriors, who had formerly met the governor in council; submission and respect were now substituted for the insolence which had on some previous occasions marked their deportment. In February, 1812, the governor received intelligence that eighty Indians, depu-

ties from all the tribes who were engaged in the late hostilities, except the Shawanese, had arrived at Fort Harrison, on their way to Vincennes. He immediately sent a messenger to meet them, to inquire the reason of their coming in so large a body, and to propose to them to send back all but a few chiefs from each tribe, or that the whole band should come unarmed. This step he adopted in consequence of a private notice, which intimated the existence of a treacherous design against his person. On the arrival of the deputies, however they delivered up their arms without the slightest hesitation; and evinced, in every particular, the subdued deportment of men who had been taught to respect the talents and power of him with whom they came to treat.

CHAPTER XI.

Declaration of War—Its effect on the West—Harrison called into service by the people—Volunteers from Kentucky.

The deceptive calm which succeeded the battle of Tippecanoe, was not of long continuance. The Indians were awed, but not conciliated. The approaching war between the United States and Great Britain revived their appetite for plunder, and Tecumthe renewed his intrigues with greater activity than ever. The Indians again commenced their bloody system of border warfare, and many depredations were committed on the borders of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, at points so far distant from each other, as to distract public attention, and create an universal panic. As the murders became more frequent, and more aggravated by the cruelties which attended their perpetration, the alarm increased, until the whole frontier became an extensive scene of dismay and suffering: the labours of husbandry were suspended, families deserted their homes and sought safety in flight, and the governor found himself surrounded by fugitives claiming protection, and by sufferers demanding

vengeance. We pass over all these events with the remark, that Governor Harrison exerted his usual activity in placing the country in the best posture for defence, in meeting the enemy at every point where it was possible to anticipate their approach, and in affording to the defenceless inhabitants that protection which was dictated as well by a high sense of official responsibility, as by the native benevolence of his disposition.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. The effect of this measure upon the western people has never been sufficiently appreciated; nor have their patriotism, their sacrifices, and their sufferings, received the full measure of applause to which they are justly entitled. Though more exposed than most of their fellow-citizens, none received the intelligence of the declaration of war with such enthusiasm, or entered into the contest with more cheerful gallantry. While some of those whose homes were safe from invasion, and who risked nothing by the contest, but the profits of an advantageous traffic, were bitterly denouncing the government, the western people, whose borders became the seat of a war with an enemy as unsparing as their own savage allies, and whose families were exposed to all its horrors, cheerfully acquiesced in that decision which put in jeopardy all that they held most dear. Instead of murmuring at an act of Congress which was to

bring the desolation of the firebrand and the tomahawk to their firesides, they indignantly spurned from office those few of their representatives, who, preferring security to honour, advocated weaker counsels. The popularity of the war was such, that the whole mass of the able-bodied population was ready, if required, to take the field. The wealthiest, the most influential, the most highly gifted in talent, were prepared to serve in the ranks of patriotism. The battle for independence was again to be fought, and they were eager to emulate, by deeds of peril, the stern republican virtues of their venerated forefathers.

No sooner was war declared, than the western governors proceeded with alacrity to place their respective states and territories in a posture for defence, and to call out volunteers for distant operations. It is no small evidence of the confidence reposed in the talents, military skill, and patriotism of Governor Harrison, that at a time when all were willing to serve, and when the best abilities of this region might have been put in requisition, he was the man to whom the whole people of the west looked as their leader, in whose hands they were willing to confide the protection of their families, property, and honour, and who was immediately placed, almost by acclamation, at the head of their armies.

The records of those times, too voluminous to be

repeated here, show how justly that deserving patriot had earned the popularity which he enjoyed. His indefatigable exertions had not ceased with the victory at Tippecanoe. The interval between that time and the declaration of war, had been improved by him in preparing for the approaching contest,—in consulting with the governor of Kentucky with regard to the employment of the militia of that state, in assisting Governor Edwards to place the exposed frontier of Illinois in a posture for defence, and in pointing out to the general government the weak places that would be endangered by the breaking out of hostilities.

Shortly after war was declared, Governor Harrison received a letter from Governor Scott of Kentucky, in which the latter earnestly requested a conference in relation to the disposition of the Kentucky troops, who were destined to protect the frontiers. Governor Harrison immediately went to Frankfort, where he was received with public honours. The militia was paraded, and the governor of Kentucky received him in person, at the head of the troops, amid the firing of cannon, and the acclamations of the people. Such was the distinguished rank which even then he held among the citizens of the west. He remained at Frankfort several days, diligently engaged in council, giving all the energies of his active mind to the maturing of those plans on which the lives and property of

his fellow-citizens depended. During this visit to Kentucky, an incident occurred, which is thus recorded in the valuable biography of Harrison by Mr. Dawson :—

"Governor Harrison dined in Lexington, with a large party of gentlemen of that town and its vicinity, all of them ardent friends to the war; the conversation turning upon the north-western campaign, and the governor delivering his sentiments, similar to those contained in the letter, (afterwards written,) the company were so struck with the justice of his remarks, that he was urged to communicate them to the Secretary of War. To this he objected, on the ground that it might be considered as interfering with matters which were foreign to his own duty, which was confined to the defence of the territories; but being assured by Mr. Clay, one of the party, who is always alive to the true interests and honour of his country, that it would be well received by the government, the letter was written."

In this letter, besides suggesting a system of operations, in which the writer displays an intimate acquaintance, as well with the military art, as with the actual posture of affairs throughout the whole western frontier, he evinces the sagacity of a strong and penetrating mind, by predicting events which, unhappily for the country, had not been anticipated by the government.

"If it were certain," he writes, "that General

Hull would be able, even with the reinforcement which is now about to be sent to him, to reduce Malden and retake Macinac, there would be no necessity of sending other troops in that direction. But I greatly fear that the capture of Macinac will give such eclat to the British and Indian arms, that the northern tribes will pour down in swarms upon Detroit, oblige General Hull to act entirely upon the defensive, and meet, and perhaps overpower, the convoys and reinforcements which may be sent him. It appears to me, indeed, highly probable that the large detachment which is now destined for his relief, under Colonel Wells, will have to fight its way. I rely greatly upon the valour of those troops, but it is possible that the event may be adverse to us, and if it is, *Detroit must fall*, and with it every hope of re-establishing our affairs in that quarter until the next year." Again, he says: "There are other considerations which strongly recommend the adoption of this measure. I mean the situation of Chicago, which must be in danger, and if it is not well supplied with provisions, the danger must be imminent."

This letter was written on the 10th of August; on the 15th Chicago was taken, and the mortifying intelligence of the fall of Detroit, soon after, filled the breast of every patriot with indignant sorrow.

Thus far we have seen Governor Harrison acting as a civil officer, and only engaging in military

affairs when engaged in defence of his own territory, in his executive capacity. We shall now follow him to that brilliant theatre on which his brow became crowned with imperishable laurels, and his name associated with those of our most illustrious warriors. He became commander-in-chief of the north-western army, under circumstances as remarkable, as they were honourable to him, to his fellow-citizens, and to the appointing power. He was called to that responsible station by the voice of the people, who in the hour of danger selected him as the individual in whose capacity and patriotism they had most confidence, and whom they esteemed most worthy to be entrusted to lead them to the field.

The war had now commenced. Macinac and Chicago had been taken by the enemy, and Detroit, the most important of the north-western posts, was threatened by the combined British and Indian force. The fall of this place, and the capture of the army of Hull, would leave the whole frontier exposed—the vast region including western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, would be at the mercy of a remorseless foe.

The most active preparations were making in Ohio and Kentucky, to avert a catastrophe which must lead to such complete and wide-spread desolation. The governor of Ohio, as soon as advised

of the precarious situation of the army of Hull, ordered twelve hundred militia to be embodied, and marched to Urbana, under Brigadier General Lupper. The governor of Kentucky had organized five thousand five hundred men, who were waiting for orders. Two thousand of these were ordered to rendezvous in Georgetown, to be placed under the orders of Brigadier General John Payne for immediate duty. Never did the patriotism of Kentucky shine more conspicuously than on this occasion. These citizens were not drafted unwillingly into the service—they were volunteers who offered themselves cheerfully to their country. The ranks were filled by men of every grade in life—young men of high promise, farmers who forsook comfortable homes, mechanics who threw aside their occupations, and professional gentlemen who left their books and their practice, to brave the fatigues of the wilderness. The officers were gentlemen of high estimation for talents and private worth—among them were such men as Colonels John Allen and Martin D. Hardin, who stood among the foremost at the bar—Major George Madison, who was auditor of public accounts of the state—Colonels Scott and Lewis, who were experienced in Indian warfare—Captain John Simpson, who had been speaker of the house of representatives in Kentucky, and was now a member elect to Congress—and the Rev. Samuel Shannon, who volunteered as a chap-

lain. This venerable divine had left Princeton College in the early part of the revolution, to enter as a lieutenant in the army, in which he served throughout the war. Again, when the liberties of his country were threatened, he stepped forward, and at an advanced age threw himself into the ranks of patriotism.

On the 16th of August the troops were reviewed by Governor Scott; they were addressed by the Rev. James Blythe, President of Transylvania University, and afterwards by Henry Clay. At the very moment when the dastardly Hull was consummating an act of unparalleled meanness, by surrendering an important post, and a gallant army, without striking a blow for the honour of our flag —the unrivalled orator of Kentucky was pouring out those strains of fervid eloquence, which would have kindled up the latent spark of courage in bosoms less generous than those to which he appealed, and to which the sons of the hardy pioneers responded in bursts of patriotic enthusiasm. These troops were then marched to Newport, and Cincinnati.

Such was the spirit of the west—such were the men over whom Harrison was called to take command; and we utter no extravagant compliment in saying, that when the best blood, the best muscle, the best talents of the country, were in the field, it was no small proof of merit to be selected to take

the chief command of an army composed of such materials.

The manner in which the selection of General Harrison was made, and the reasons which induced his appointment, are thus recorded by M'Affee, an intelligent Kentuckian, who was an actor in these stirring scenes, and has since risen to high distinction in civil office.

"A few days before the actual attack on Detroit by General Brock, an express had been sent by General Hull, to hasten the reinforcement which had been ordered to join him from Kentucky. By this conveyance, several of the principal officers of the army had written to their friends in Cincinnati, as well as to the governor of Kentucky, stating their entire want of confidence in their commander, and their apprehensions of some fatal disaster from his miserable arrangements and apparent imbecility and cowardice. These letters, also, declared it to be the common wish of the army, that Governor Harrison should accompany the expected reinforcements. He was also very popular in Kentucky, and was anxiously desired as their commander by the troops marching from that state to the north-western army. But the authority with which he had been invested by the President, did not entitle him to command any corps, which was not intended for operations in the western territories.

"The question of giving Harrison the command of the detachment on the march from Kentucky for Detroit, presented great difficulties to the mind of Governor Scott. The motives to make the appointment were numerous. He had ample testimony of its being the wish of the army at Detroit. The fourth United States regiment in particular, which had acquired so much fame at Tippecanoe, under the command of Harrison, he was assured by an officer of that corps, were eager to see their old commander again placed over them. The same desire was felt by the Kentucky militia; and the citizens echoed their sentiments in every part of the state. To these may be added his own ardent attachment to Governor Harrison, and entire confidence in his fitness for the command. The obstacles in the way of the appointment were, that Harrison was not a citizen of Kentucky, the laws of which would not sanction the appointment of any other to an office in the militia; and that a major general had already been appointed for the detached militia, one only being required and admissible in that corps. Had Governor Scott been capable of shrinking from his duty and the responsibility of the occasion, he might have easily evaded this delicate business, as the day on which he was deliberating upon it, was the last but one that he had to remain in office. That he might, however, neither act unadvisedly, nor appear to assume too

much, in this situation, he determined to ask the advice of the governor elect, and such members of Congress, and officers of the general and state governments, as could be conveniently collected. At this *caucus*, composed of Governor Shelby, the Hon. Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives in Congress, the Hon. Thomas Todd, judge of the Federal Court, &c., it was unanimously resolved to recommend to Governor Scott, to give Harrison a brevet commission of major general in the Kentucky militia, and authorize him to take command of the detachment now marching to Detroit; and to reinforce it with another regiment which he had called into service, and an additional body of mounted volunteer riflemen. The governor conferred the appointment agreeably to their advice, which was received with general approbation by the people, and was hailed by the troops at Cincinnati with the most enthusiastic joy."

The surrender of Hull having defeated the immediate object of the campaign, General Harrison's duties became even more delicate and arduous than they would otherwise have been. He commenced a system of organization and discipline, to which he devoted a degree of severe attention and personal labour, under which nothing but a high sense of military pride, united with patriotic devotion to his country, could have supported him. His own enthusiasm was communicated to those around him,

and the troops, as well as the people at large, looked upon him with cheerful confidence as the chosen leader who was destined to conduct the raw but brave soldiery of the west to victory. His own views, and the hopes of the country, received a temporary check by the appointment of General Winchester, of the regular army, to take the command.

Shortly after, General Harrison received a communication from the war department, which informed him that he had been appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States; an appointment which he declined accepting, until he could learn whether his acceptance would make him subordinate to General Winchester.

Mr. M'Affee remarks, "The troops had confidently expected that General Harrison would be confirmed in the command; and by this time he had completely secured the confidence of every soldier in the army. He was affable and courteous in his manners, and indefatigable in his attention to every branch of business. His soldiers seemed to anticipate the wishes of their general: it was only necessary to be known that he wished something done, and all were anxious to risk their lives in its accomplishment. His men would have fought better and suffered more with him, than with any other general in America; and whatever might have been the merits of General Winchester, it was certainly an unfortunate arrangement which trans-

ferred the command to him at this moment. It is absolutely necessary that militia soldiers should have great confidence in their general, if they are required either to obey with promptness, or to fight with bravery. The men were at last reconciled to march under Winchester, but with a confident belief that Harrison would be reinstated in the command; and which accordingly was done, as soon as the war department was informed of his appointment in the Kentucky troops, and his popularity in the western country."

It is only to be regretted that the command had not been conferred upon Harrison at an earlier period, as in that case the dreadful tragedy of the massacre at the river Raisin would not have been exhibited, and the British army might have been saved from the blackest stain ever indelibly impressed upon the military character of a nation, by disgraceful outrage and cowardly revenge.

CHAPTER XII.

Unprepared state of the country at the commencement of the war—March of the volunteers—Their confidence in Harrison.

Those who look back at the events of the late war, are not more forcibly struck with the brilliant success of our arms upon sea and land, than with the unprepared condition of the country, even for defensive warfare. The latter circumstance was used by the party opposed to the administration, as an argument against the expediency of declaring the war; when in fact hostilities had for years been waged against us, on the frontiers and on the ocean, and the taking up of arms on our part was a measure of self-defence, which had been delayed until longer forbearance would have been neither safe nor honourable. The unprepared state of the country, under such circumstances, is an evidence of the pacific character of our institutions, and of the great reluctance with which our government or people consent to appeal to the last resort of nations. Insulted and abused as we were, we had relied confidently upon argument and negotiation, and had appealed to the justice of our enemy rather than her

fears. The trust reposed by us in the magnanimity of a great nation, was misplaced; the language of conciliation and manly remonstrance was new to the ears of despotism, and instead of winning favour, encouraged the foe to greater audacity of aggression. Yet even up to the last moment there was no preparation for war—the insulted flag, the impressed seamen, and the ravaged frontier, failed to disturb the love and the habit of peace which are inherent elements in our national character.

Posterity will read the history of the last war with a surprise bordering on incredulity. In open hostilities with one of the most powerful and warlike of nations—we began without an army, without magazines, without resources. With an extensive sea-board, and a long line of interior frontier accessible to the enemy, we had few ships, and scarcely any forts that deserved the name.

The north-western country was especially exposed. After the capture of Hull, there remained no fortress on the upper lakes, in our hands, nor any regular force. Corps of militia, hastily collected, were advancing towards the lines; but they were undisciplined, and destitute of supplies. Some idea of the condition of all these troops may be formed from the description given of those assembled at Newport and Cincinnati, in a letter from General Harrison to the Secretary of War, dated August 28, 1812.

He says, "I shall march to-morrow morning with the troops that I have here, taking the route of Dayton and Piqua. The relief of Fort Wayne will be my first object, and my after operations will be governed by circumstances, until I receive your instructions.

"Considering my command as merely provisional, I shall cheerfully conform to any other arrangement which the government may think proper to make. The troops which I have with me, and those which are coming from Kentucky, are, perhaps, the best materials for forming an army that the world has produced. But no equal number of men was ever collected, who knew so little of military discipline; nor have I any assistance that can give me the least aid, if there was even time for it, but Captain Adams of the fourth regiment who was left here sick, and whom I have appointed deputy adjutant general, until the pleasure of the President can be known.

"No arms for cavalry have yet arrived at Newport, and I shall be forced to put muskets in the hands of all the dragoons. I have written to the quarter-master at Pittsburgh to request him to forward all supplies of arms, equipments, and quarter-master's stores, as soon as possible. I have also requested him to send down a few pieces of artillery, without waiting for your order; and wait your instructions as to a further number. There

is but one piece of artillery, an iron four-pounder, anywhere that I can hear of in the country. If it is intended to retake the posts that we have lost, and reduce Malden, this season, the artillery must be sent on as soon as possible. There is no longer a possibility of getting money for drafts in this country. The paymaster (General Taylor's deputy) continues to act, and I have been obliged to agree with the bank here, called the Miami Exporting Company, that the United States shall be at the expense and risk of sending on specie for the drafts that are now given for the pay of the troops, and for the quarter-master's department."

Having received advices informing him that Fort Wayne was invested by a large body of Indians, and was in danger of being reduced, General Harrison hastened, without waiting for the orders of government, to march to the relief of that place; but on the 5th of September was obliged to halt, to await a supply of flints, a small but indispensable article.

The few facts which we have stated, show the importance of the duties intrusted to General Harrison, and the insufficiency of the means with which he was to operate. With a line of frontier to protect of several hundred miles in extent, composed of a wilderness without roads,—a vast wilderness of forest, intersected with swamps and streams of difficult passage—without the ordinary means of

receiving or conveying information, and destitute of depôts of provisions and munitions of war—opposed to well-trained battalions, aided by hordes of savages who could move unobserved from point to point—he had an army without discipline, cavalry without swords, artillery-men without guns, infantry without flints, and paymasters without money. Most of these deficiencies were eventually supplied through his own exertions; and in addition to the usual duties of commander-in-chief, he was obliged to attend personally to the drilling of the soldiers, the procurement of arms, munitions, and camp equipage, and the arrangement of pecuniary resources. His indefatigable attention to these various details soon won the respect and confidence of the army. A writer of that day says, "Brigadier General Harrison is at Piqua with 2000 Kentucky soldiers, and 2000 more in his rear. Harrison's presence appears to inspire every person with courage, and makes even cowards brave. His present conduct evinces a determination to retrieve the injured reputation of our country. He has made a most animating speech to the friendly natives at Piqua, who are numerous and suing for a continuation of peace."

On the 9th of September the army arrived at Shane's Crossing of the St. Mary's, not far from Fort Wayne; and on the 11th the general wrote to the Secretary of War, "You need not fear the

issue of the action, which I expect will take place to-morrow. My troops are in high spirits, and will, I am persuaded, do honour to themselves and their country."

The anticipations of the general were not realized. Instead of having to fight his way to the fort, he found the positions of the besieging army abandoned. The enemy fled at his approach; and he had the merit of relieving that important post, by his prompt and skilful conduct, without any expenditure of blood.

Previous to the arrival of General Winchester, who had been ordered to take the command, General Harrison employed himself in measures to strike terror into the hostile Indians. Detachments were sent to destroy the Indian towns, and the corn-fields, in the surrounding region, some of which the general attended in person. Large quantities of corn were destroyed, and the enemy disabled, from the want of subsistence, from embodying themselves for any further mischief.

The arrival of General Winchester to take the command caused much discontent among the troops. M'Affee says, he had been a revolutionary officer, and was now advanced in years. He was a wealthy citizen of Tennessee, where he had lived many years, in a degree of elegant luxury and ease, which was not calculated to season him for

a northern campaign in the forest. His arrival produced much uneasiness among the troops; being a regular officer with whom they were unacquainted, many of the military seemed disposed not to be commanded by him; and General Harrison, with the field officers, had to exert all their influence to reconcile the army to the change."

CHAPTER XIII.

Harrison appointed Commander-in-chief—Extent of his command—Difficulties by which he was surrounded—Plan of operations.

When General Harrison retired from the army, his intention was to return to his residence in Indiana, and resume his duties as governor of that territory, from which he had been called by the urgent request of his fellow-citizens. He had felt himself obliged to obey that call, when it was made, because there was no other commander in the field; but when the President, unaware of the wishes of the western people, designated another individual as commander-in-chief, it became Mr. Harrison's obvious duty to acquiesce cheerfully in the decision.

No sooner, however, did the President learn the actual state of affairs on the frontier, that Mr. Harrison was the choice of the whole western people, and that he had been industriously engaged in making extensive preparations for active operations, than he saw the propriety of conferring on him the chief command. Accordingly, when Governor Harrison reached Piqua, on his return, he met an express, conveying to him the following dispatch:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, *Sept.* 17, 1812.

"SIR,

"The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the north-western army, which in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force ten thousand men.

"Having provided for the protection of the western frontier, you will retake Detroit, and with a view to the conquest of Upper Canada, you will penetrate that country as far as the force under your command will in your judgment justify.

"Every exertion is making to give you a train of artillery from Pittsburgh; to effect which, you must be sensible, requires time. Major Stoddard, the senior officer of artillery at that place, will advise you of his arrangements and progress, and receive your instructions. Captain Gratiot, of the engineers, will report himself to you, from Pittsburgh; he will receive your orders, and join you with the first piece of artillery which can be prepared, or receive such orders as you may direct. Major Ball, of the 2d regiment of dragoons, will also report himself, and join you immediately. Such staff officers as you may appoint conformably to law, will be approved by the President.

"Copies of all contracts for supplying provisions

have been transmitted. Mr. Denny, the contractor at Pittsburgh, is instructed to furnish magazines of provisions at such places as you may direct.

"The deputy quarter-master at Pittsburgh will continue to forward stores and munitions of every kind, and will meet your requisitions.

"Colonel Buford, deputy commissary, at Lexington, is furnished with funds, and is subject to your orders. Should an additional purchasing commissary become necessary, you will appoint one, and authorize him to draw and sell bills on this department. It seems advisable to keep the local contractors in requisition as far as they can supply. With these objects in view, you will command such means as may be practicable, exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment.

"Very respectfully, &c.

"W. EUSTIS.

"Brig. Gen. WM. H. HARRISON."

In a letter to Governor Shelby, of the same date, the Secretary remarks, "It has been determined to vest the command of all the forces on the western and north-western frontier, in an officer whose military character, and knowledge of the country, appeared to be combined with the public confidence. General Harrison has accordingly been appointed to the chief command, with authority to employ officers, and to draw from the public stores,

and every other practicable source, all the means of effectuating the object of his command."

The command bestowed on General Harrison was the most extensive and important that was ever intrusted to any officer of the United States—Washington and Greene excepted. The territory assigned to him was very large, and contained an endless number of posts and scattered settlements which he was required to defend against numerous hordes of Indians, at the same time that he carried forward the regular operations of the campaign against a well-disciplined British army. His forces were raw, undisciplined militia—full of ardour, self-devotion, and patriotism, but wholly destitute of the habits or experience of the soldier. The difficulties which he had to encounter were of no ordinary character, and imposed a weight of duty which required an union of all the qualities that constitute an able leader. The commissariat of the army was wretchedly appointed, and almost without organization; and the general found himself called upon to act in the wilderness, far from the country from which his supplies must be drawn, distant from all highways or other channels of intercourse, and without any regular system for furnishing provisions to his army. A trackless and swampy desert, almost impassable for heavy wagons, and filled with hostile savages, intervened between the seat of war and the nearest settlements.

On the other hand, the most ample powers were given to the general: he was permitted to make appointments in all the various departments of his army, and the officers thus designated by himself, were confirmed by the President. He was authorized to draw on the government for money to an unlimited amount, and to make any contracts which he might deem expedient, for the furnishing of his army. These extraordinary powers were exercised by him with moderation, and with energy. Though clothed with authority inferior only to that of the President, and far greater than that conferred on any other commander, he always conducted himself with the prudence of a citizen who understood the respect due to the laws, and the responsibility which he owed the people.

It is worthy of remark, that this extensive command was conferred on General Harrison by Mr. Madison, whose official relations had been such as to enable him to form an accurate opinion of the capacity of the individual whom he thus trusted. Mr. Madison was called to the office of Secretary of State, by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801, shortly after Mr. Harrison had been appointed governor of Indiana. They had both served throughout the whole eight years of the administration of Mr. Jefferson; and the Secretary of State must have been well advised of the estimation in which the territorial governor was held by the President. He doubtless

had access to the voluminous correspondence of Mr. Harrison, on subjects of grave importance and immediate interest. No man in the nation had a more intimate knowledge of all Mr. Harrison's official acts, or was possessed of more ample testimony upon which to form a judgment of his capacity and habits of transacting business. This illustrious patriot became President in 1809, and Mr. Harrison remained in office under him, enjoying his confidence, as he had enjoyed that of Mr. Jefferson.

It was therefore after an intimate official intercourse of nearly twelve years, that the President conferred on General Harrison the chief command of an important division of the army, and intrusted him with powers and responsibilities the most weighty and delicate. It was with such a knowledge of the character of the new commander-in-chief, that he gave him an unlimited command of means, and authorized him to "act in *all cases* according to his own judgment."

With the force now under his command, General Harrison proceeded to St. Mary's, and thence to Defiance, where he found General Winchester encamped. During the march the troops suffered much. The weather was cold and rainy, and the army being unprovided with tents, were greatly exposed. General Harrison and his staff were in the same situation, and endured similar hardships. The following description of a *bivouac* of one even-

ing on that march, is given as a specimen of what was customary during this campaign. The troops, being on a forced march, were not suffered to halt until dark. They were then formed, as nearly as practicable, in the order of a regular encampment, and the proper guards posted. The ground now spoken of was on the bank of the Au Glaise river, in a flat beech bottom, which was nearly covered with water, from the rain which fell in torrents during the whole night. The troops were destitute of axes, and could only procure such fuel as was furnished by the dry limbs lying scattered on the ground. Those who could find a dry log, against which a fire could be kindled, were fortunate; many sat, without fire, upon their saddles, at the roots of trees, against which they leaned, and endeavoured to sleep. Being separated from the baggage, few had any thing to eat, or drink. The men became peevish, and were not sparing in their complaints. To set an example to the soldiers, and give a different turn to their thoughts, the general, who, with his staff, sat at a small fire, wrapped in his cloak, receiving the rain as it fell, requested one of his officers to sing an Irish song,—the humour of which, and the determination evinced at head quarters to make the best of the circumstances, soon produced good-humour throughout the camp.* An-

* Dawson.

other officer sang a song, of which the chorus was:

"Now 's the time for mirth and glee,
Sing, and laugh, and dance with me."

The ludicrous contrast between these words, and the gloom of the woods and the tempest, produced such an impression, that they soon became proverbial; and whenever afterwards the army was placed in a similar situation—when enduring the pelting of the storm, or wading to the knees in mud and ice, some gallant spirit would roar out,—

"Now 's the time for mirth and glee,"

and the whole line of march would take up the words, in full chorus.

This rapid movement had been induced by an express from General Winchester, bearing the intelligence that his march had been impeded by parties of Indians; and that on arriving near Defiance, he had discovered that they were accompanied by British troops, with artillery. At the same time a communication from Governor Meigs, with a letter from General Kelso, commanding a body of Pennsylvania militia on Lake Erie, conveyed the intelligence, that on the 16th of September, 2000 Indians, with some British regulars and militia, had left Fort Malden on an expedition against Fort Wayne.*

* M'Affee.

The promptitude with which General Harrison moved towards the point threatened by the enemy, was creditable to his zeal and capacity. But before his arrival, the enemy, whose force had been magnified by report, had retired.

An incident which occurred on the arrival of General Harrison at Winchester's camp, is too honourable to himself, and the troops, to be omitted; and we shall do but justice to our contemporary, Mr. Butler, by extracting it from his history of Kentucky, as he has written it.

"Soon after General Harrison's arrival at camp, and after he had retired to enjoy some little repose, so welcome to one who had been exposed on the preceding comfortless and forced expedition, he found himself suddenly awakened by Colonel Allen and Major M. D. Hardin. These officers were the bearers of the mortifying news, that Allen's regiment, exhausted by the hard fare of the campaign, and disappointed in the expectation of an immediate engagement with the enemy, had, in defiance of their duty to their country, and all the earnest remonstrances of their officers, determined to return home. These officers assured General Harrison that they could do nothing with their men; that their representations were answered by insults alone. They begged the general to rise and interfere, as the only officer who had any prospect of bringing the mutineers back to their duty. He re-

fused to interfere at that time; but assured the gentlemen that he would attend to the serious object of their request, in his own way, and at his own time. The officers retired; in the mean time General Harrison sent one of his aids to direct General Winchester to order the alarm to be beat on the ensuing morning, instead of the reveillé. This adroit expedient brought all the troops to their arms, the first thing in the morning. It diverted the spirits of the discontented troops into a new channel of feeling; and prepared them for the subsequent events."

"On the parading of the troops at their posts, General Winchester was ordered to form them into a hollow square. General Harrison now appeared upon parade, much to the surprise of the troops, who, from his late arrival in camp, were unapprised of his presence. If the sudden and unexpected arrival of their favourite commander had so visible an effect upon the men, his immediate address to them fully preserved the impression. He began by lamenting that there was, as he was informed, considerable discontents in one of the Kentucky regiments: this, although a source of mortification to himself, on their account, was happily of little consequence to the government. He had more troops than he knew well what to do with, at the present stage of the campaign; and he was expecting daily the arrival of the Virginia and Pennsylvania quo-

tas. It was fortunate, said this officer, with the ready oratory for which his native Virginia is so famed, that he had found out this dissatisfaction before the campaign was farther advanced, when the discovery might have been mischievous to the public interests, as well as disgraceful to the parties concerned. Now, so far as the government was interested, the discontented troops, who had come to the woods with the expectation of finding all the luxuries of home and peace, had full liberty to return. He would, he continued, order facilities to be furnished for their immediate accommodation. But he could not refrain from expressing the mortification he anticipated from the reception they would meet from the old and the young, who had greeted them on their march to the scene of war, as their gallant neighbours."

"What must be their feelings, said the general, to see those whom they had hailed as their generous defenders, now returning without striking a blow, and before their term of plighted service had expired? But if this would be the state of public sentiment in Ohio, what would it be in Kentucky? If their fathers did not drive back their degenerate sons to the field of battle, to recover their wounded honour, their mothers and sisters would hiss them from their presence. If, however, the discontented men were disposed to put up with all the taunts and

disdain which awaited them wherever they might go, they were at full liberty to go back."

The influence of this animated address was instantaneous. This was evinced in a manner most flattering to the tact and management of the commander. Colonel J. M. Scott, the senior colonel of Kentucky, addressed his men. "You, my boys," said the generous veteran, "will prove your attachment for the service of your country, and your general, by giving him three cheers." The appeal was effective, and the air resounded with shouts. Colonel Lewis took the same course, and a similar effect resulted. The noble Allen then appealed to the disaffected regiment, and, with a feeling which almost choked his utterance, called upon his men to follow the patriotic example of the other Kentucky regiments. They also threw up their voices in loud acclamation, while many a sob of deep feeling was mingled with the shout of military ardour. They returned cheerfully to their duty; and no troops served more faithfully, until the fatal day when most of them gave their lives to their country, on the bloody field of Raisin.

We take this occasion to remark, that on various occasions the eloquence of General Harrison was exerted with admirable effect, throughout the whole of his military career. It was his practice to win obedience by kindness, and to enforce the performance of duty by appeals to the reason of his troops.

His experience and good sense taught him that militia—freemen serving voluntarily in the ranks of patriotism—did not expect, nor deserve, the same kind of treatment as is observed towards mercenary troops. Those who offered their services on such occasions, were the high-spirited and generous; they were the choice men of a magnanimous population; they had talent, intelligence, and chivalry; and their leaders were the popular men of the region. The commander who would have offended such men by an arrogant bearing, or have attempted to wound their pride by disgraceful punishments, would have shown himself a bad judge of human nature. General Harrison adopted the opposite course; and while he observed a strict military etiquette, and required obedience from those under him, always treated his men with respect; considering every soldier a patriot, who was making sacrifices for his country, and reflecting that each had the delicate feelings of pride, which are always found associated with generous valour, and disinterested love of country. During the whole of his command, he never caused nor permitted a degrading punishment to be inflicted on a militia soldier. Like a father, he often gave in private the affectionate admonition, which precluded the necessity of a public exposure, and produced the desired end; or availing himself of his remarkable talent for extemporaneous speaking, he addressed his

troops in strains of elegant and forcible eloquence, which won them to their duty; while his series of general orders were full of animating appeals to the reason, patriotism, and sense of duty of his brave fellow-soldiers.

General Harrison is a man of remarkably conciliatory habits and manners. It is seldom that an individual of so ardent a temperament is endowed with such evenness of temper. He is by nature kind, has great warmth of heart, and buoyancy of spirits; and though easily excited, is not readily discouraged, or awakened to anger.

This has been the great secret of his popularity. His talents and public services have commanded respect; but his uniform good temper, considerateness, and forbearance,—his conciliating manners, and his freedom from the arbitrary habits, and passionate bearing, which sometimes accompany great military talents, won for him the love and confidence of those who followed him to the field. Their commander, their companion in danger and privation, he was on all occasions their friend and fellow-citizen. He demanded no homage to which he was not entitled. He claimed only what his commission gave, what his talents as a commander assured to him, and his qualities as a gentleman confirmed to be his right.

The immediate objects of the campaign committed to the sole direction of General Harrison, were,

the recapture of Detroit, and the expulsion of the British from the territory of the United States—the protection of the north-western and western border —and the reduction of Malden in Upper Canada.

The extensive line of frontier committed to his protection, included the whole of the shores of the northern lakes, of which the numerous harbours and mouths of rivers were undefended by fortifications, and easily accessible to the enemy; while it also comprised the detached settlements on the Wabash and the Mississippi, which were exposed to the depredations of the Indians.

The means for effecting these objects were wholly inadequate. The soldiers were militia, hastily raised, badly armed, and badly clothed. No regular system for furnishing supplies had as yet been established in any department of the army. Steamboats had not at that period been introduced upon the western waters; nor was there a turnpike road west of the Ohio river. The points at which the various corps of the army were to operate, were far beyond the settlements; and the wagons or packhorses employed in the transportation of stores or baggage, were driven through a wilderness encumbered with a luxuriant vegetation—over a rich deep soil, whose porous and spongy surface became converted by every rain into an almost impassable mire—and through swamps, as gloomy and unwholesome as they were difficult to be passed.

There are few difficulties which may not be surmounted by genius and perseverance, with the proper aids; but it will be seen that the government was enabled to give but little assistance to General Harrison, and that he was obliged to accomplish much by his personal influence, which ought properly to have been effected by the regular operation of several different departments organized by law, and controlled by their proper chiefs. He was intrusted with the delicate responsibility of appointing officers in the purchasing and disbursing departments, assigning to them their duties, and drawing in their favour for moneys to an unlimited amount. He was obliged to appeal personally to the governors of Ohio and Kentucky for their co-operation; and was happy in finding, in Meigs and Shelby, men whose patriotism was of the elevated character which the emergency of the times, and their own high stations, required. His calls upon the people were made in many instances upon his individual responsibility; while the volunteers who followed him to the field were often so disheartened by the hardships they had to endure, and the want of all the comforts and necessaries to which they were entitled, that they were only induced to persevere in the generous enterprise in which they had engaged, by his eloquent harangues, and the continual exertion of his personal popularity.

We shall not attempt to enumerate the different

corps which served under General Harrison in this campaign; nor to place upon our brief record the names of the patriotic gentlemen who were leaders under him. They are omitted, not from any want of a due appreciation of their services, but because we have not room for these particulars: we are not writing a history of the war, but recounting the public services of one distinguished individual. His meritorious deeds, with those of other gentlemen, whose services deserve equally to be remembered by their countrymen, will be found related in more minute detail, in the several histories of the war. We make this explanation now, that none may expect to find in this work more than it professes to give—a biography of Harrison.

A few remarks only are necessary as to the great objects of the campaign, and its leading movements. To recapture Detroit, and to break up the power of the enemy by driving them from Malden, were the main purposes; while it was necessary in the mean while to watch the movements of their troops, and defend the frontier settlements. Before General Harrison arrived at Defiance, he had already formed a plan of operations, which elicited from the gallant and accomplished engineer, Colonel Wood, the highest encomium on the military genius of the commander-in-chief. The point from which the principal movement upon the enemy was to be made, was the Rapids of the Miami of the

Lake. This was the point of concentration. A military base was formed, extending from Upper Sandusky on the right, to Fort Defiance on the left. At these extreme points the right and left corps of the army were to be assembled; the right division, to be composed of a Virginia and a Pennsylvania brigade, the general selected for his own personal command. The left, composed of the troops then at Defiance, and three Kentucky regiments, then at or near St. Mary's, was commanded by General Winchester; and the centre corps, composed of a brigade of the Ohio quota of militia, assembled at Fort M'Arthur, was commanded by Brigadier Tupper, of Ohio. Each of these corps had a separate line of operation, terminating at the Rapids. "This," says Colonel Wood, "was an excellent plan; for, by sending the corps by different routes, with a view of concentrating somewhere in the neighbourhood of the enemy, the march of the army would not only be expedited, but the frontiers much more effectually protected."

General Harrison caused a new fort to be erected on the Au Glaise, near the old one, and another on the same river about twelve miles from St. Mary's; while he instructed General Winchester to direct his attention for the present chiefly to the transportation of supplies to Defiance, for the main expedition against Detroit.

We pass over a number of minor operations,

which we have not room to detail. General Harrison proceeded by Piqua to Urbana, and from the latter place to Franklinton, employing himself actively in expediting the march of troops towards the frontier, and in forwarding artillery and supplies. The troops at different points were actively engaged; those under Winchester completed Fort Winchester; the regiment of Barbee at St. Mary's built Fort Barbee; Poague's regiment erected Fort Amand on the Au Glaise; and Colonel Jennings threw up a fortified work at his encampment.

These regiments were also actively engaged in preparing boats and canoes, in escorting provisions and stores, and in other duties preparatory to the object of the campaign.

The hardships borne by the troops, and the difficulties to be surmounted in carrying forward the views of the government, were of a character and magnitude, of which those who have not been engaged in similar scenes can have little conception. In the voluminous correspondence of General Harrison with the government, these are forcibly pointed out; and we regret that our limits will not allow us to quote from those letters as extensively as we could wish.* In one of them, written on the 22d of October, he remarks, "I am not able to fix any

* They may be found in Niles' Register, M'Affee's History, and Dawson's Life of Harrison.

period for the advance of the troops to Detroit. It is pretty evident that it cannot be done on proper principles, until the frost shall become so severe as to enable us to use the rivers and the margin of the lake for the transportation of baggage on the ice. To get supplies forward through a swampy wilderness of near two hundred miles, in wagons or on pack-horses, which are to carry their own provisions, *is absolutely impossible.*" "No species of supplies are calculated on being found in the Michigan territory. The farms upon the River Raisin, which might have afforded a quantity of forage, are nearly all broken up and destroyed. This article, then, as well as the provisions for the men, is to be taken from this state—a circumstance which must at once put to rest every idea of a land conveyance at this season, since it would require at least two wagons with forage, for each one that is loaded with provisions and other articles."

On the 15th of November he writes, "You can scarcely form an idea, sir, of the difficulty with which land transportation is effected north of the fortieth degree of latitude in this country. The country beyond that is almost a continued swamp to the lakes. Where the streams run favourably to your course, a small strip of better ground is generally found; but in crossing from one river to another, the greater part of the way, at this season, is covered with water. Such is actually the situa-

tion of that space between the Sandusky and the Miami Rapids; and from the best information I could acquire, while I was at Huron, the road over it must be causewayed at least half the way."

The autumn of this year was thus passed in laborious preparations for active service—in collecting troops, in building forts, in creating depôts, in cutting roads, in opening resources for supplies, and in organizing the various departments of the army.

A few minor operations in the field only were attempted, for the purpose of driving back the parties of the enemy, or dislodging them from posts from which they could annoy our troops, or embarrass the plans of the commander-in-chief. One under General Tupper was unsuccessful; another under the same officer was, according to M'Affee, boldly attempted, and the object partially attained. The expedition sent by General Harrison to the Mississineway River, consisting of six hundred men, under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, was handsomely conducted, and brilliantly successful. An Indian village, fortified, and well defended, was gallantly assailed, and taken after a spirited action of an hour. Eight of our men were killed, and forty-eight wounded—but a large number was rendered unfit for duty by fatigue, exposure to frost, and sickness. In the general order, issued on the return of the troops, the commander-in-chief com-

mends the firmness with which they endured the extraordinary hardships to which they were subjected, as well as their bravery and good conduct in battle. "But the character of this gallant detachment," continues General Harrison, "exhibiting, as it did, perseverance, fortitude, and bravery, would, however, be incomplete, if, in the midst of victory, they had forgotten the feelings of humanity. It is with the sincerest pleasure that the general has heard, that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders, in not only saving all the women and children, but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist; and that even when vigorously attacked by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense of their own danger, and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of heaven, against our enemies alone. The American soldier will follow the example of his government; and the sword of one will not be raised against the fallen and helpless, nor the gold of the other be paid for the scalps of a massacred enemy." These are noble sentiments, finely expressed.

Until late in the season, General Harrison continued to indulge the hope, that he should be able to overcome the numerous obstacles which prevented his moving in force against the enemy, and that he would eventually close the campaign by the cap-

ture of Malden. Reserving his army for this grand object, he avoided all unnecessary exposure of the troops, abstained from sending out detachments which might have been cut off by lurking bodies of Indians, and by which, even if successful, the strength of the army would have been weakened, without commensurate advantage.

In the mean while he urged upon the government the importance of creating a navy upon the lakes. In one of his letters he remarks—"Admitting that Malden and Detroit are both taken, Macinaw and St. Joseph's will both remain in the hands of the enemy, until we can create a force capable of contending with the vessels which the British have in Lake Michigan, and which they will be enabled to maintain there as long as the canoe route by Grand River and Lake Nipissin shall remain, and for six months after." The sagacity of this suggestion was afterwards fully proved by the splendid achievement of Perry, and the important results which followed from the acquisition of the naval ascendency upon the lakes.

As the season advanced, and the difficulties which impeded the preparation of the army for active operations increased, General Harrison was reluctantly compelled to abandon the idea of taking Malden during this campaign, and to advise the government of the necessity of postponing a movement for that purpose, which could only be made at a sacrifice

of life, and a risk of failure, which in his opinion would not be warrantable, under any correct military principles. Mr. Monroe, then acting as Secretary of War, replied as follows :—

"At this distance, and with an imperfect knowledge of the actual state of things, it is impossible for the President to decide, satisfactorily to himself, or with advantage to the public, whether it is practicable for you to accomplish the objects of the expedition, in their full extent, during the present winter. No person can be so competent to that decision as yourself; and the President has great confidence in the solidity of the opinion which you may form. He wishes you to weigh maturely this important subject, and take that part which your judgment may dictate."

CHAPTER XIV.

Events in Indiana and Illinois—Movements on the North-western frontier—Massacre at the River Raisin.

On the 3d of September, a body of Kickapoo and Winnebago Indians assembled at Fort Harrison on the Wabash, and endeavoured by treacherous pretences of friendship to gain admission. Captain Zachary Taylor, who commanded, was not deceived by this stratagem; but kept his garrison prepared to defend the post; and on the 4th an assault was made. The enemy was repelled with gallantry.

Exasperated by the failure of this attempt, a large war-party of savages broke into the settlements on the Pigeon Roost Fork of White River, where they massacred, under circumstances of the most shocking barbarity, twenty-one persons, including women and children. These Indians, it will be recollected, were regularly in the pay of the British government, as their allies. Such was the character of the war carried on against us, for the purpose of enforcing an alleged right to impress our seamen, and of reducing us to a state of dependence, by a civilized and Christian people.

An escort of provisions, of thirteen men, on its way to Fort Harrison, was also surprised, and literally cut to pieces.

The Illinois and Missouri territories became the scenes of similar atrocities; and Governor Edwards, of Illinois, made strong appeals to the government, and to the governors of the neighbouring states, for assistance.

Colonel Russel, a veteran officer of the U. S. army, commanding in this region, hastened to cover the exposed points, by sending such volunteers as could be raised to Fort Harrison, assisting the governor of Illinois in organizing the militia, and employing the rangers on the borders of Missouri.

It is only necessary to glance at the map, to discover the distance of these various points from each other, the total inadequateness of the means at the disposal of the officers whose duty it became to defend them, and the great responsibility imposed upon those gentlemen. Upon General Harrison, as the commander-in-chief, charged with the care of this widely-extended field of action, fell of course the chief weight, and upon him were the eyes of the country directed, for its defence; but other officers acting at a distance from head quarters, were often obliged to use a liberal discretion in the direction of their own talents, and the patriotism of their fellow-citizens.

Governor Shelby, whose zealous patriotism has rendered his name so conspicuous in the annals of this war, made an eloquent appeal to the people of Kentucky, setting forth the critical condition of the more exposed portions of the frontier, and calling for the aid of volunteer soldiers. Such was the alacrity with which this summons was obeyed, that 2000 mounted men were immediately assembled at Louisville, and other points on the Ohio—while so great was the excess of numbers, that many others were turned back. One old veteran, belonging to a company whose services were not accepted, after venting his disappointment, was heard to remark, "Well, well, Kentucky has often glutted the market with hemp, flour, and tobacco; and now she has done it with volunteers."

These troops were, by General Harrison's appointment, assembled at Vincennes, about the 1st of October, where the army was organized, and the command assumed by General Samuel Hopkins, of the Kentucky militia. The Wabash was crossed, and a march attempted over the boundless plains of Illinois, towards the Kickapoo villages on the Illinois river. Deceived by the guides, however, several days were spent in wandering in different directions, without advancing far towards the point of destination. Provisions became scarce, and both horses and men were sinking under fatigue. Under these circumstances, it was deter-

mined to return. The expedition was considered to have failed in its principal object; and mortified pride induced the men to cast severe reflections upon their leader. But a court of inquiry, afterwards held, at the request of General Hopkins, decided that his conduct merited the applause, rather than the censure, of his country. Perhaps all that could have been expected from an army thus hastily raised, and wholly unfurnished with provisions and munitions, was accomplished—the frontier was covered at that point, for the moment, the depredators were induced to withdraw, and the inhabitants relieved from their present panic.

After dismissing the mounted men, General Hopkins led a body of infantry from Fort Harrison against the Indians on the Wabash. The march was commenced on the 11th of November, and conducted with great caution. On the 19th they arrived at the Prophet's Town, which was destroyed—as were a Winnebago village, a few miles lower down, and a Kickapoo village, on the western side of the river. The operations were continued until the 24th, when the "shoeless, shirtless condition of the troops, now clad in remnants of their summer clothes; a river full of ice; hills covered with snow; a rigid climate, and no certain point against which he could further direct his operations," induced the general to return to Vincennes.

A successful enterprise was in the mean while

conducted against the Kickapoos by Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell. Their principal village, at the head of Peoria Lake, was surprised, a large number of warriors killed, their corn destroyed, and about eighty horses captured.

Returning now to the events occurring in the vicinity of head quarters, we propose to conclude our brief sketch of this campaign, by narrating the melancholy catastrophe at the River Raisin.

According to the plan of the campaign, and the instructions of the commanding general, it was expected by him, that on his arrival at Upper Sandusky, about the 18th of December, he should be advised of the advance of Winchester to the Rapids. Not receiving this information, he forwarded, by Ensign Todd, of Kentucky—who performed the dangerous duty with signal dispatch and skill—a reiterated order, instructing General Winchester, that as soon as he had accumulated provisions for twenty days, he was authorized to advance to the Rapids, where he was to commence the building of huts, to induce the enemy to believe that he was going into winter quarters—that he was to construct sleds for the main expedition against Malden, but to impress it on the minds of his men that they were for transporting provisions from the interior—that the different lines of the army would be concentrated at that place, and a choice detachment from the whole would then be marched rapidly on

Malden—that in the mean while he was to occupy the Rapids, for the purpose of securing the provisions and stores forwarded from the other wings of the army.

The left wing having in the mean while received, on the 22d of December, a moderate supply of provisions, General Winchester was preparing to march; and on the 30th of the same month, that wing moved for the Rapids. To apprise General Harrison of this movement, Mr. Leslie Combs, a gallant young gentleman of the Kentucky volunteers, was sent with a dispatch, which he carried through the wilderness, on foot, accompanied by a single guide, a distance of more than a hundred miles, to the point of destination. Owing to the perils and difficulties of the way, this dispatch was delayed five days longer than had been anticipated; and in the mean while General Winchester received a communication from the commander-in-chief, recommending to him to abandon the movement upon the Rapids, and fall back with the greater part of his force to Fort Jennings. General Harrison had learned that Tecumthe had collected a large force on the head waters of the Wabash; and he gave this advice to Winchester, under the apprehension that the advance of the left wing would afford to this enterprising chief an opportunity to attack and destroy the provisions left on its line of operations in the rear. But Winchester having commenced

his march, did not conceive himself bound by this instruction to change his plan.

On the 10th of January, the left wing reached the Rapids, and Winchester established his camp on the north bank of the river, at a good position, which he fortified.

From the 13th to the 16th, several messengers successively arrived from the River Raisin, with intelligence from the settlement there, that a great panic prevailed, in consequence of an expected incursion of the Indians, and with urgent entreaties to General Winchester for protection. These solicitations were seconded by an ardent desire on the part of the troops to advance; and at a council of officers called by the general, a majority decided upon sending forward a strong detachment. On the 17th, Colonel Lewis was detached with 550 men to the River Raisin, and at a later hour of the same day, Colonel Allen followed with 110 men. A dispatch was prepared for General Harrison, by Winchester, announcing these proceedings; but before it was sent, information was received from Colonel Lewis, at Presque Isle, twenty miles in advance, that 400 Indians were at the River Raisin, and that Colonel Elliot was expected from Malden, with a detachment designed to attack the camp at the Rapids. This intelligence was added to the letter.

Lewis, intending to anticipate Elliot, pushed

forward for Frenchtown, a village midway between Presque Isle and Malden, and distant from each eighteen miles. After a laborious march the detachment reached the vicinity of Frenchtown, and found the enemy prepared to receive them. It was gallantly determined to attack them; and after a short halt, the troops were formed for action. The right, commanded by Allen, was composed of the companies of M'Cracken, Bledsoe, and Matson; the left, under Major Graves, was composed of the companies of Hamilton, Williams, and Kelly; the centre, under Major Madison, consisted of the companies of Hightower, Collier, and Sebree; and the advanced guard, led by Captain Ballard, included the companies of Hickman, Glaves, and James.

They advanced in three lines, and found the enemy posted among the houses in the village. Graves and Madison were ordered to dislodge them, which they gallantly did,—advancing with their battalions under a galling fire. The routed enemy, attempting to retreat, were met by Allen at some distance on the right, and driven to the woods. Here they made a stand, covered by some houses, fences, and brushwood; but our brave troops continued to advance, and, after a hot engagement, again forced them to retire. Thus they were driven for two miles, under an unremitted succession of charges made by this intrepid band of Kentuckians,

who had marched on that day eighteen miles through the frost and over ice, and were so much exhausted, that nothing but the dauntless spirit of a noble zeal could have sustained them. The action commenced at 3 o'clock, and the pursuit was continued until dark. The victory was decisive—and as General Harrison handsomely remarked afterwards, "the troops amply supported the double character of Americans and Kentuckians." Our loss was twelve killed and fifty-five wounded, that of the enemy much greater. They were commanded by Major Reynolds, of the British army, who had under him about 100 British regulars, and 400 Indians.

It is to be greatly regretted, that after so signal a triumph, this fine detachment had not retired, or that General Harrison had not been apprised of these movements in time to support them.

Lewis determined to maintain his position at Frenchtown; and Winchester, on receiving intelligence of the victory, approved the decision of Lewis, hastened to support him with all his troops, and on the 21st established his head quarters at Frenchtown, which he determined to fortify the next day. Colonel Wells was sent to the Rapids, where he met General Harrison, who had arrived there the day before, and was making every effort to hasten forward the reinforcements.

The advices sent by Winchester to Harrison had

all been delayed by accidents incident to the wilderness and the season; and he was now endeavouring to support movements which he could not have foreseen, and of which he was recently and unexpectedly apprised. This, with his feeble and scattered means, in the depth of a northern winter, and in the impracticable state of that wilderness region, was a hopeless undertaking; but unpromising as it was, it was attempted with zeal and earnestness; and on the 20th he dispatched Captain Hart with instructions to Winchester, to maintain the position at the River Raisin.

No sooner had the British at Malden heard of the advance of the Americans upon Frenchtown, than the decision to attack them there was made and promptly executed. The assault was commenced on the morning of the 22d, by the opening of a heavy battery at the distance of three hundred yards from our lines, discharging bombs, balls, and grape-shot. The enemy had approached in the night in profound silence. Our troops were outnumbered, and a part only were protected by temporary breastworks. The assailants rushed forward to the charge, with the bayonet and the tomahawk, amid the loud yells of the savage. From the camp of Lewis, which was surrounded with pickets, they were repulsed; but the reinforcement which had arrived under Winchester, and was unprotected by any work, was overpowered,

and forced to give back. General Winchester hastened to the scene of action, and endeavoured ineffectually to rally the broken lines. But the British pressed upon the disordered troops, the Indians gained their right flank, and the men began to retreat in confusion across the river. Lewis and Allen gallantly endeavoured to regain the ground that had been lost, but in vain; the Indians had now gained the other flank, and were in possession of the woods in the rear. Confusion increased; a large party of our troops which had reached the woods were surrounded, and massacred without distinction and without mercy. Nearly one hundred were tomahawked at one spot. Every fugitive was slaughtered. The brave Allen, after being badly wounded, and retreating two miles, surrendered to an Indian; another savage assailed him, and Allen, with a blow of his sword, struck the assassin dead, and was himself shot down by a third Indian.

Lieutenant Garrett having surrendered himself, with a party of fifteen or twenty men, all but himself were instantly butchered. Another party, of thirty men, had retreated three miles, when they were surrounded and compelled to surrender; half of them were murdered. Winchester and Lewis were taken, and their coats stripped off; in this condition they were taken to Colonel Proctor's head quarters.

The troops within the picketing, under Graves and Madison, still maintained that position with Spartan valour. Major Graves, when severely wounded, sat down, exclaiming, "Never mind me—fight on." Proctor, at length, wearied with the ineffectual sacrifice of his men, withdrew his mercenary troops and savage allies from the vain attempt to dislodge this little band of heroes.

But Proctor at length procured, by an act of indescribable baseness, that which he could not effect by valour. He represented to General Winchester, his captive, that unless the remainder of our troops should surrender, the whole of the prisoners would be given up to the tomahawk. Shocked as the general must have been by so brutal a violation of the laws of war, he had seen enough to satisfy him that he was in the power of a monster, who only required an apology to steep his hands still more deeply in blood. A flag was sent by him, therefore, with an order to Major Madison to surrender, borne by Major Overton, the aid of Winchester, and accompanied by Proctor. The latter insolently demanded an immediate surrender—threatening, in case of refusal, to deliver over the whole garrison to the vengeance of the Indians. Major Madison observed, "That it had been customary for the Indians to massacre the wounded and prisoners, and that he would not agree to any capitulation which General Winchester might direct, unless the safety

and protection of his men were stipulated." Colonel Proctor said, "Sir, do you mean to dictate *to me?*" "No," replied the brave Madison, "I intend to dictate for myself, and we prefer selling our lives as dearly as possible, rather than be massacred in cold blood." Proctor then received the surrender, on the conditions that private property should be respected, that the prisoners should be protected by a guard, the sick and wounded removed on sleds, and the officers allowed to retain their side-arms.

We forbear to shock our readers by recounting in detail the atrocities that ensued, and which have covered the name of Proctor with eternal infamy. The prisoners thus taken were given over to the Indians to be slain in cold blood. A few were saved by the interposition of some of the officers. Graves, Hart, Hickman, and other gallant officers, with their brave companions, were coldly delivered up, by British officers, to the infuriated Indians, and butchered in their presence. Some of their bodies were thrown into the flames of the burning village, and others, shockingly mangled, left exposed in the streets. Major Woolfolk, the secretary of Winchester, was shot some days after his capture, and Major Graves murdered at some later period, which has never been ascertained. For several days this horrid tragedy continued to be acted; and every prisoner who became exhausted in the

march towards Malden, was handed over to the savage.

The historian M'Affee indignantly remarks, "For the massacre at the River Raisin, for which any other civilized government would have dismissed, and perhaps have gibbeted the commander, Colonel Proctor received the rank of major general in the British army!" So far from disgracing the perpetrator of such atrocities, he was rewarded; and the commander of the forces in Upper Canada, in a general order distinguished for its falsehood and malignity, boasted of this "brilliant action," and of the "gallantry" of Proctor, which he declares to have been "nobly displayed!"

Pursuing the account of M'Affee, we quote the following paragraphs:—

"A disaster so calamitous would necessarily excite much discussion with respect to its causes; and as much blame was thrown upon those who committed no error, and who were not instrumental in causing the defeat of Winchester, which proved to be the defeat of the campaign, it may not be amiss to vindicate, in a cursory manner, the conduct of those on whom public opinion, or the censure of their enemies, was unjustly severe. General Harrison was blamed by his enemies for the advance of the detachment to the River Raisin; for not reinforcing it in time; or, finding that impracticable,

for not ordering a retreat; besides many other matters of less importance.

"It is evident from the statement of facts already made, that General Harrison is not answerable for the advance of the detachment. It was sent by General Winchester, without the knowledge or consent of Harrison, and contrary to his views and plans for the future conduct of the campaign, and to the instructions communicated with his plans through Ensign Todd, before the left wing had marched for the Rapids. If the advance was improper, the blame does not lie upon Harrison; if it was proper, General Winchester is entitled to the credit of having ordered it. The following extract from the journal of Colonel Wood, shows the impression made at head quarters by the first intelligence of the advance received at that place.

"'This news for a moment paralyzed the army, or at least the thinking part of it, for no one could imagine that it was possible for him to be guilty of such a hazardous step. General Harrison was astonished at the imprudence and inconsistency of such a measure, which if carried into execution, could be viewed in no other light than as attended with certain and inevitable destruction to the left wing. Nor was it a difficult matter to foresee and predict the terrible consequences which were sure to mark the result of a scheme, no less rash in its conception, than hazardous in its execution.'"

"With respect to reinforcing the detachment," continues M'Affee, "a recurrence to facts equally proves that Harrison is not blameable, as he made every exertion in his power to support it. It was not until the night of the 16th that he received information indirectly through General Perkins, that Winchester had arrived at the Rapids. By the same express he was advised that Winchester *meditated* some unknown movement against the enemy. Alarmed at this information, he immediately made every exertion which the situation of his affairs required. He was then at Upper Sandusky, his principal deposit of provisions and munitions of war, which is sixty miles from the Rapids by the way of Portage river, and seventy-six by the way of Lower Sandusky; and about thirty-eight more from the River Raisin. He immediately sent an express to the Rapids, for information; gave orders for a corps of 300 men to advance with the artillery, and escorts to proceed with provisions; and in the morning *he proceeded himself* to Lower Sandusky, at which place he arrived in the night following, a distance of forty miles, which he travelled in seven hours and a half, over roads requiring such exertion, that the horse of his aid, Major Hakill, fell dead on their arrival at the fort. He found there, that General Perkins had prepared to send a battalion to the Rapids, in conformity with a request from General Winchester. That battalion

was dispatched the next morning, the 18th, with a piece of artillery; but the roads were so bad, that it was unable, by its utmost exertions, to reach the River Raisin, a distance of seventy-five miles, before the fatal disaster.

"General Harrison then determined to proceed to the Rapids himself, to learn personally from General Winchester his situation and views. At four o'clock on the morning of the 19th, while he still remained at Lower Sandusky, he received the information, that Colonel Lewis had been sent with a detachment, to secure the provisions on the River Raisin, and to occupy, with the intention of holding, the village of Frenchtown. There was then but one regiment and a battalion at Lower Sandusky, and the regiment was immediately put in motion, with orders to make forced marches for the Rapids; and General Harrison himself immediately proceeded to the same place. On his way he met an express with intelligence of the successful battle, which had been fought on the preceding day. The anxiety of General Harrison to push forward, and either prevent or remedy any misfortune which might occur, as soon as he was apprized of the advance to the River Raisin, was manifested by the great personal exertions which he made in this instance. He started in a sleigh with General Perkins, to overtake the battalion under Cotgrove, attended by a single servant. As the sleigh went

very slow, from the roughness of the road, he took the horse of his servant, and pushed on alone. Night came upon him in the midst of the swamp, which was so imperfectly frozen that the horse sunk to his belly at every step. He had no resource but to dismount and lead his horse, jumping himself from one sod to another which was solid enough to support him. When almost exhausted, he met one of Cotgrove's men coming back to look for his bayonet, which he said he had left at a place where he stopped, and for which he would have a dollar stopped from his pay, unless he recovered it. The general told him he would not only pardon him for the loss, but supply him with another, if he would assist him to get his horse through the swamp. By his aid, the general was enabled to reach the camp of the battalion.

"Very early on the morning of the 20th he arrived at the Rapids, from which place General Winchester had gone, on the preceding evening, with all his disposable force, to the River Raisin. Nothing more could now be done, but wait the arrival of the reinforcements from Lower Sandusky."

"Instead of censure being due to Harrison, he merits praise for his prudent exertions, from the moment he was apprized of Winchester's arrival at the Rapids."

"What human means," says Colonel Wood,

" within the control of Harrison, could prevent the anticipated disaster, and save that corps which was already looked upon as lost, as doomed to inevitable destruction? Certainly none." He adds, " What could a Turenne or an Eugene have done, under such a pressure of embarrassing circumstances, more than Harrison did."

When the intelligence of the disaster at the River Raisin reached the head quarters of the army, at the Rapids, General Harrison called a council of war, who, acting on the best information then attainable, came to the opinion, that the position at the Rapids would probably be attacked. Such an event was to be avoided, as the position was untenable, and the force of the enemy supposed to be much greater than our own. On the next morning, therefore, the army abandoned the Rapids, and retired to the Portage, 18 miles distant, where the general established, and strongly fortified his camp, to await an expected reinforcement under General Leftwich, on the arrival of which, it was his intention to return to the Rapids. A series of rainy weather, which rendered the roads impassable, delayed the arrival of General Leftwich until the 30th of January; and on the following day, the army, now amounting to 1700 men, marched to the foot of the Rapids, and a good position was selected, on the opposite side of the river from that formerly occupied.

Expecting to be able still to lead the contemplated expedition against Malden during the season, the general continued to exert himself unremittingly in making preparations. All the troops in the rear were ordered to join him immediately; except a few companies which were left on the Au Glaise and St. Mary's. The Ohio and Kentucky troops soon after arrived, which rendered the advance 2000 strong; but it was now ascertained, that the different corps were so far reduced from their original and nominal strength, that the whole effective force would not eventually exceed 4000 men. The weather remained unfavourable, and the arrival of the troops in the rear continued to be delayed until General Harrison was at length constrained, with much reluctance and mortification, to abandon all thoughts of advancing this season against Malden.

The general now turned his attention to the security of his troops for the present winter, and the making arrangements for an active campaign in the ensuing year. His camp was strongly fortified, under the direction of Colonel (then Captain) Wood, an engineer of great talent, who afterwards distinguished himself highly, and fell with honour. An area of 2500 yards in circumference was inclosed with strong pickets, composed of timbers fifteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in diameter, set three feet deep in the ground. "To complete this picketing," says Wood, in his account,

"to put up eight block-houses of double timber, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the store-houses and magazines required to contain the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Besides, an immense deal of labour was likewise required in excavating ditches, making *abbatis*, and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was to be done too at a time when the weather was inclement, and the ground so hard frozen that it could scarcely be opened with a mattock or pick-axe." The position thus fortified was called Camp Meigs, in honour of the patriotic governor of Ohio.

CHAPTER XV.

Opening of the second campaign—Siege of Fort Meigs—Brilliant sortie—Defeat of Colonel Dudley.

The small garrison of Fort Meigs spent a dreary and toilsome winter at that post. A variety of minor incidents occurred to test their patience and courage; but the garrison maintained itself under a variety of privations, of threatened assaults, and of adverse circumstances.

General Harrison returned to Cincinnati, to visit his family, and to make arrangements for a vigorous opening of the ensuing campaign, by procuring reinforcements of men, and supplies of money, provisions, and military stores. Ever indefatigable in his exertions, he continued to maintain a voluminous correspondence with the cabinet at Washington, and the governors of the states from which militia were expected to be drawn, and to sustain, by animated appeals to their patriotism, the confidence of the people. Again we look back, as at a former period, with emotions of surprise at the gloomy aspect of affairs on all our frontiers. Thus far the war had been prosecuted with little energy, and less success. A few individuals had been

prodigal of their lives, their talents, and their labours, in high commands; and many men had gone bravely to the field. Some brilliant exploits had been achieved; but these partial successes had been more than balanced by a series of disasters. The want of system and organization, of supplies, and of all the sinews of war, except brave men and gallant leaders, had created distraction in the councils of the nation, and despondency in the public mind. Had it not been for the personal influence, energy, and talent, of such commanders as Harrison, Jackson, Brown, Scott, and Perry, and such men as Meigs, Shelby, and other patriotic governors, it is difficult to imagine how the honour of the country could have been rescued from indelible disgrace; nor will the nation fully appreciate the weight of gratitude due to those individuals, and to Monroe, Clay, Cheves, Calhoun, and other patriots, who intrepidly sustained the administration at this crisis, until the history of those times shall be fully and calmly written, and the services of those great men carefully examined and explained.

Intelligence having been received of an intention on the part of the enemy to invest Camp Meigs, General Harrison hastened back to the frontier. His plan was formed, to relieve Camp Meigs, should he find it besieged, by storming the batteries of the enemy, in the same manner which he afterwards adopted, and caused to be practised by the

troops under Dudley. With this view, he wrote for reinforcements to the governor of Kentucky and endeavoured to raise hastily a strong force. But on reaching Camp Meigs, on the 12th of April, he found that position not yet invested. The enemy, however, were daily expected; and the most vigorous exertions were made to prepare for a siege. On the 19th, intelligence was brought that the British were making active preparations, were assembling an immense Indian force, and that Tecumthe and the prophet had joined them with 600 warriors.

General Green Clay, with 3000 men from Kentucky, under Colonels Boswell, Dudley, Caldwell, and Cox, was daily expected; but the deepness of the roads, and the difficulty of crossing streams swelled by the spring floods, delayed his march. The companies, however, which had been dispatched in advance by Harrison, and were less encumbered with baggage, reached the Rapids before the arrival of the enemy. The troops under Clay reached Defiance on the 3d of May, where they were met by the news of the investment of Camp Meigs, by the allied British and Indian forces.

On the 28th of April, a reconnoitring party from Camp Meigs discovered the approach of the enemy in full force. General Harrison instantly dispatched letters to General Clay, and to the governors of Ohio and Kentucky. The perilous duty of bearing

these dispatches, was undertaken and handsomely performed by Captain Oliver,* a brave and intelligent officer, who, accompanied by a single white man and an Indian, successfully surmounted the dangers that beset his path through the wilderness.

The troops were paraded; General Harrison addressed them with his usual eloquence, and loud bursts of applause showed that he had kindled up their military pride and love of country. Presently the enemy appeared, ascending the river in boats, and approaching the site of the old Fort Miami, on the opposite side of the river from Camp Meigs. Here they landed the artillery, and began to construct batteries, while the Indians debarked on the south-eastern shore, and surrounded our camp.

The position occupied by the American army was within a short distance of the field on which Wayne had conquered the Indians in his great battle. Alluding to this circumstance, General Harrison used the following language, in a general order issued on the next morning after the arrival of the enemy:—

"Can the citizens of a free country, who have taken up arms to defend its rights, think of submitting to an army composed of mercenary soldiers, reluctant Canadians goaded to the field by the bayonet, and of wretched, naked savages? Can the breast of an American soldier, when he casts

* Major William Oliver, of Cincinnati.

his eyes to the opposite shore, the scene of his country's triumphs over the same foe, be influenced by any other feelings than the hope of glory? Is not this army composed of the same materials with that which fought and conquered under the immortal Wayne? Yes, fellow-soldiers, your general sees your countenances beam with the same fire that he witnessed on that occasion; and although it would be the height of presumption to compare himself to that hero, he boasts of being that hero's pupil. To your posts then, fellow-citizens, and remember that the eyes of your country are upon you."

The British camp was established about two miles down the river; and in the night after their landing, they commenced three batteries opposite the fort, on a high bank three hundred yards from the river; the intervening ground was open, and partly covered with water. They proceeded with these so far in the night, as to be able to work at them in daylight. Works to counteract those of the enemy were commenced with spirit on our side. The whole army, except the requisite guards, was placed on fatigue, and the works pushed forward under the active management of Wood and Gratiot, the engineers.

On the 30th of April the breastworks of the enemy were completed, and the guns ready to be mounted. Troops and Indians were crossed to the south-eastern side; and as this demonstration led

the general to suspect, that while his attention should be directed to the opening of the batteries, his works were to be stormed from the opposite direction, the men were ordered to rest on their arms, prepared to take post at a moment's warning.

The morning of the 1st of May disclosed the British batteries completed, and the artillerists at their posts, loading and training the guns, as if ready to open their fire upon our camp. An imposing movement now took place. While the enemy were busily engaged in erecting batteries, a grand traverse had been constructed, twelve feet high, upon a base of twenty feet, three hundred yards long, running entirely across our camp. Orders were now given for all the tents in front of this work to be removed to its rear. At a word they were struck, and in a few minutes disappeared; and the prospect of cannonading the uncovered tents, which a few minutes before had excited the skill of the British engineer, vanished. In their place, nothing was to be seen but a long breastwork of earth, behind which the whole army was securely encamped. Not a tent, nor an individual, was visible from the British lines. The canvas shelters which had concealed the construction of the traverse, were now in turn concealed by it. The enemy's batteries however were opened, and for five days a continued shower of balls was poured against our defences, with little effect. A

few were killed and wounded. Among the latter was Major Amos Stoddart, of the artillery, a meritorious officer, who had served in the revolution, and is well known as the author of a valuable work entitled "Sketches of Louisiana." He was slightly hurt, and died a few days after, of lockjaw.

On our side a vigorous fire was kept up from the batteries, while the troops were constantly employed in strengthening the defences.

It will be recollected that General Clay, with his command, was still on the way. This circumstance was adroitly turned to advantage by General Harrison, and a plan devised, which evinced the most admirable generalship, in adapting his means to his situation.

Captain Oliver met General Clay at Fort Winchester, at which place the cannonading at the siege was distinctly heard. On the 4th of May he was ready to advance; when Major David Trimble, of Kentucky, volunteered to accompany Captain Oliver on his return to Fort Meigs, in a boat with fifteen men, to apprize General Harrison of the approach of the reinforcement. This was a hazardous attempt; Captain Combs had lately endeavoured, by order of Colonel Dudley, to penetrate the besieging lines, but was attacked by Indians when near the fort, and driven back, after a brave contest, in which he lost nearly all his men. Oliver was more successful; and at midnight General Harri-

son was informed, that General Clay would reach his camp at the dawn of the ensuing morning. Harrison immediately determined to make a *sortie* upon the enemy; and dispatched Captain Hamilton to Clay, with the necessary orders, which were delivered, five miles from Camp Meigs, at daylight. General Clay was directed to land about 800 men at a point to be shown by Captain Hamilton, a mile and a half above Camp Meigs. Hamilton was to conduct the detachment to the British batteries on the left bank of the river. These were to be taken, the cannon spiked, and the carriages cut down; the troops were then to return to the boats, and cross to the fort. The remainder of the troops were to land on the other bank, and cut their way through the Indians into the fort, conducted by a subaltern sent for that purpose.

General Harrison intended, while this operation was going forward, to send out a party to destroy the batteries on the south side of the river, which had been erected subsequently to the establishment of those on the other side.

Colonel Dudley proceeded to lead the detachment against the enemy's batteries, while General Clay followed with the remainder of his men. In attempting to land, the boats of Clay became separated by the swiftness of the current, and were landed at different points. Captain Peter Dudley, with fifty men, marched into camp without loss,

under a heavy fire of the enemy. Colonel Boswell, with the rear boats, deceived by a movement of those in advance, was about to land on the wrong shore, when he was instructed to cross over, and fight his way into camp. The Indians annoyed his landing, but he formed, and returned their fire. General Harrison perceived his situation, and sent out a detachment under Major Alexander, in which the Pittsburgh Blues and the Petersburgh volunteers were included—a battalion under Major Johnson,—and the companies of Nearing and Dudley, to relieve him, and enable him to beat the enemy. The Kentuckians had fought their way to the gates of the fort, when these troops joined them. They now formed, Boswell on the right, Alexander on the left, and Johnson in the centre, and charged the Indians, who, though much superior in numbers, were driven for half a mile at the point of the bayonet. Such was the spirit of these brave troops, that their officers with difficulty restrained their ardour. General Harrison, who stood on a battery watching their operations, discovered a body of British and Indians filing along the edge of the woods, to gain the left flank and rear of Boswell. He immediately sent his volunteer aid, J. T. Johnson, Esq., to recall the detachment; but the horse of this gentleman was shot under him before he could deliver the order, which was then carried by

Major Graham. The troops reluctantly obeyed, and reached the camp in good order.

"General Harrison," says M'Affee, "now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of Colonel John Miller of the regulars, against the batteries which had been erected on that side. This detachment was composed of the companies and parts of companies, commanded by Captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing, Elliot, and Lieutenants Gwynne and Campbell of the regulars; the volunteers of Alexander's battalion, and Captain Sebree's company of Kentucky militia. The whole amounted only to 350 men. Colonel Miller, accompanied by Major Todd, led on his command with the most determined bravery, charged upon the British, and drove them from their batteries—spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer, having completely beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of 200 British regulars, 150 Canadians, and 500 Indians, being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment that attacked them; but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity that nothing could withstand them."

Sebree's company was particularly distinguished; and at one time plunged with such fearless ardour into the enemy's ranks, as to be entirely surrounded. Bravely contending against four times their

numbers, they maintained their ground for some time, but must ultimately have been cut to pieces, had not Lieutenant* Gwynne, of the 19th, gallantly charged through the enemy to their relief. Miller accomplished the whole object of the sortie, and retired triumphantly into the fort.

In no instance during the war was there harder fighting than in this brilliant sortie. It lasted but forty-five minutes, during which 180 men were killed and wounded on our side.

In the mean while, Dudley had effected a landing on the opposite side of the river, and marched rapidly towards the enemy's batteries. The distance was two miles from the point of debarkation; but so successful was the movement, that the enemy was completely surprised, the batteries were charged "at full speed," and carried without the loss of a man; the British flag was pulled down, and the shouts of the garrison announced their joy at the victory.

Unhappily these gallant citizens were not sufficiently practised in the new profession which their patriotism had induced them to assume, to be able to appreciate the full value of the service they had so nobly performed, or the danger of the position in which they stood. Having effected their purpose, their orders and their duty required them to retreat,

* Now Major Gwynne, of Cincinnati.

but they loitered in the batteries with the most perfect indifference to any approaching peril. General Harrison made them signals to retire—but they remained, examining the batteries they had taken, and curiously surveying the novel scene before them. Flushed with victory, they were reluctant to turn their backs on the foe. Lieutenant Campbell was sent by the general to recall them; but before he could perform the service, the fate of these brave men was decided. The outlying Indians gathered upon their flank, and attacked Captain Combs' company; Dudley hastened to his relief with part of his force, charged the foe, and drove them—but even now these impetuous Kentuckians were not satisfied, and instead of retreating, pursued the enemy for two miles. The left column, under Major Shelby, which remained in possession of the batteries, was charged by the enemy, who had rallied, some made prisoners, and others driven to the boats. Major Shelby rallied the remainder, drove back the assailants, and hastened to the assistance of Dudley. A retreat was now attempted; but in such disorder, that the greater part of the men were captured by the Indians, or surrendered to the British. Thus ended in signal disaster, an affair planned with wisdom, commenced with the brightest hopes, conducted for a time with skill and gallantry, and blasted in its event by the imprudence of a generous band, who

suffered their own impulse to lead them, instead of obeying the orders of their general. Had the instructions given to Dudley been pursued, or an ordinary degree of military judgment exercised, the events of that day would have been among the brightest in the annals of our country, and Kentucky saved from the mournful office of lamenting the loss of some of her noblest sons.

The British and Indians now perpetrated their usual atrocities. The gallant Dudley fell by the tomahawk, with many of his brave companions. The prisoners were taken to head quarters, put into Fort Miami, and the Indians permitted to station themselves on the ramparts, and fire into the disarmed crowd. "Those," says Colonel Wood, "who preferred to inflict a still more cruel and savage death, selected their victims, and led them to the gateway, and there, *under the eye of General Proctor, and in the presence of the whole British army, tomahawked and scalped them.*" This horrid work of destruction continued until the arrival of Tecumthe from the batteries. No sooner did the savage warrior behold the massacre, than he exclaimed, "For shame! it is a disgrace to kill a defenceless prisoner;" and stopped the carnage. One of our historians remarks, "In this single act, Tecumthe displayed more humanity, magnanimity, and civilization, than Proctor, with all his British

associates in command, displayed through the whole war on the north-western frontiers."

We forbear from making any comment on the cruel and insulting treatment of our prisoners by Proctor and his subordinates. It stands recorded in letters of blood, upon the page of history.

General Proctor made a proposition to exchange such of the Kentucky militia as were his captives, for the friendly Indians residing within our limits, who were not prisoners, but neutrals, living in our country. Whether this was intended as an insult, is not known. General Harrison contented himself with replying courteously, that he would refer the subject to the decision of the President.

After the close of the action of the 5th, Proctor sent a formal summons to Harrison to surrender, to which our gallant commander simply responded, that he considered such a message an affront, which he desired might not be repeated. The boasting Briton, finding that Harrison would not consent to be beaten, judged it expedient to be the vanquished party himself; and on the 8th he raised the siege and decamped.

General Harrison, leaving General Clay in command, proceeded to Lower Sandusky and Cleaveland, to make arrangements for the better security of those places. He then passed into the interior.

Governor Meigs, of Ohio, had used the most active exertions to carry assistance to the besieged

American army; and was on the way, leading a stout column of armed citizens, in person, towards the scene of operations, when the news of the retreat of the discomfited army was received, and the troops were disbanded.

The gallant Perry was, in the mean while, quietly and vigorously building up that fleet, in the command of which he afterwards achieved a victory as brilliant, as complete, as advantageous, as it was unprecedented in the annals of American naval warfare.

CHAPTER XVI.

The mounted regiment under Col. R. M. Johnson.

While these operations were going forward, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, a member of Congress from Kentucky, had devised the organization of two regiments of mounted militia, to be employed in traversing the whole Indian country, from Fort Wayne, by Lake Michigan, and the Illinois river, round to Louisville. The Secretary of War submitted the plan to General Harrison, who made the following judicious reply: "I am sorry not to be able to agree with my friend, Colonel Johnson, upon the propriety of the contemplated mounted expedition. An expedition of this kind, directed against a particular town, will probably succeed. The Indian towns cannot be surprised in succession, as they give the alarm from one to another with more rapidity than our troops can move. In the months of February, March, and April, the towns are all abandoned. The men are hunting, and the women and children, particularly to the north of the Wabash, are scattered about, making sugar. The corn is, at that season, universally hid in small parcels in the earth, and could not be

found. There are no considerable villages in that direction. Those that are there, are composed of bark huts, which the Indians do not care for, and which, during the winter, are entirely empty. The detachment might pass through the whole extent of country to be scoured, without seeing an Indian, except at the first town they struck; and it is more than probable that they would find *it* empty. But the expedition is impracticable to the extent proposed. The horses, if not the men, would perish. The horses that are now to be found, are not like those of the early settlers, and such as the Indians and traders now have. They have been accustomed to corn, and must have it. Colonel Campbell went but seventy or eighty miles from the frontiers, and the greater part of his horses could scarcely be brought in. Such an expedition in the summer and fall would be highly advantageous, because the Indians are then at their towns, and their corn can be destroyed. An attack upon a particular town, in the winter, when the inhabitants are at it, as we know they are at Mississineway, and which is so near as to enable the detachment to reach it without killing their horses, is not only practicable, but if the snow is on the ground, is perhaps the most favourable."

This statement is equally creditable to the patriotism of Johnson, and the sagacity of Harrison; and it was happy for the country, that while the govern-

ment accepted the services of the former, the advice of the latter was approved. The plan was so modified, that Colonel Johnson was authorized, on the 26th of February, 1813, to raise a mounted regiment to serve under the command of Harrison. James Johnson, the brother of Richard, was appointed lieutenant colonel; Duval Payne, and David Thompson, majors; R. B. M'Affee, (the writer of the history of the war,) Richard Matson, Jacob Elliston, Benjamin Warfield, John Payne, Elijah Craig, Jacob Stucker, James Davidson, S. R. Combs, W. M. Price, and James Coleman, captains; Jeremiah Kirtby, adjutant; B. S. Chambers, quartermaster; S. Theobalds, judge advocate; L. Dickinson, serjeant major; James Sugget, chaplain; Doctors Ewing, Coburn, and Richardson, surgeons.

The regiment proceeded to St. Mary's, and thence to Fort Wayne, employing every leisure moment in drilling; and several demonstrations were made against the Indian villages in different directions.

In the mean while, the tomahawk and firebrand were busily employed along the frontiers of Illinois and Missouri. In April the Indians invested Fort Madison, on the upper Mississippi; and soon after Fort Mason, on the same river, about eighty miles above St. Louis, but were bravely repulsed in both instances.

The Osages solicited employment against the

British; but the government, unwilling to engage the savages in war, and determined not to do so, except where the vicinity of the tribe to the scene of action made it necessary for them to take up the hatchet in their own defence,—declined their services.

The British, by great exertions, collected nearly all the Indian warriors of the north and north-west, beyond the lakes, and many from our territories, into the neighbourhood of Malden, where they were regularly supplied with rations. The number of warriors was about 2500.

Johnson's regiment was now at Fort Winchester, when a dispatch from General Clay announced that Fort Meigs was threatened with a second siege, and required the aid of the mounted men. Johnson immediately paraded his men, addressed them in animated terms, and made preparations for the march. The regiment set out in high spirits, resolved to fight their way, if necessary, into Fort Meigs; which post, however, they reached without opposition.

General Harrison received at Franklinton the intelligence of the threatened attack of Fort Meigs, and immediately hastened to the scene of action.

Before leaving Franklinton, he held a council with the chiefs of some of the friendly tribes, when he informed them that a crisis had arrived, in which it became necessary for the neutral tribes

residing near the frontier to decide against or for us. The latter alternative was unanimously adopted. The general then told them, that they would be informed when their services would be wanted—"but," said he, "you must conform to our mode of warfare. You are not to kill defenceless prisoners, old men, women, or children." He remarked, that by *their* conduct he would be able to determine whether the British could restrain the Indians employed by them; for if the Indians fighting with him should abstain from such atrocities, the British could have equal influence with their own allies. He humorously told them that General Proctor had promised to deliver *him* into the hands of Tecumthe, to be treated as that warrior might determine. "Now if I can succeed in taking Proctor," said he, "you shall have him for your prisoner, *provided* you will agree to treat him as *a squaw*, and do him no other harm than to dress him in petticoats; for he must be a coward who would kill a defenceless prisoner."

On the 28th of June, General Harrison arrived by forced marches at Fort Meigs, with 300 men of the 24th regiment of U. S. infantry, under Colonel Anderson.

We omit here a variety of services in which detachments were employed, and which are detailed in the histories of the war.

By an order dated June 9th, 1813, the War

Department, at the urgent request of Governor Edwards, of Illinois, and General Howard, commanding in Missouri, instructed General Harrison to order Colonel Johnson's mounted volunteers to proceed to Kaskaskia, to report to General Howard.

The mounted men were indignant at this order, which would take them from a field in which the harvest of glory was ripening, and banish them into a wilderness four hundred miles distant, which they could scarcely reach before the expiration of their term of service. Colonel Johnson immediately addressed the following letter to General Harrison, in behalf of his regiment:—

CAMP AT LOWER SANDUSKY, *July* 4, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"I arrived at this place last evening with a part of the mounted regiment, after two days' march from Camp Meigs, leaving two companies four miles in the rear, who were unable to reach this place; besides about twenty horses left on the way, which I am in hopes will be able to get back to Camp Meigs, or come to this place in a few days, where we can keep them together, and recruit them. Having been in the most active service for upwards of forty days, and having travelled upwards of seven hundred miles, much of it forced marching, it is natural to conclude, that most of the horses are weak; and we feel great pleasure, and obliga-

tions to you, in finding your arrangements such as to enable us to recruit the horses of the regiment. To be ready to move with you to Detroit and Canada, against the enemies of our country, is the first wish of our hearts. Two great objects induced us to come—first, to be at the regaining of our own territory and Detroit, and at the taking of Malden—and secondly, to serve under an officer in whom we have confidence. We would not have engaged in the service without such a prospect, when we recollected what disasters have attended us for the want of good generals. We did not want to serve under cowards, drunkards, old grannies, nor traitors, but under one who had proved himself to be wise, prudent, and brave. The officers of the mounted regiment had some idea of addressing you on their anxiety to be a part of your army in the campaign against Canada, and of giving you a statement of the importance of having an opportunity to make the regiment efficient for such a campaign, by recruiting their horses. As to the men, they are active, healthy, and fond of service. This morning I have sent 100 on foot to scour the surrounding country; and wherever we are we wish continual service. Our regiment is about 900 strong when all together. I have left 100 at Defiance to regain some lost horses, and to guard that frontier.

"You have not witnessed the opposition I en-

countered in raising the regiment. Every personal enemy, every traitor and tory, and your enemies, all combined—but in vain. Nothing but the hurry which attended our march prevented me from having 1500 men. Nothing but the importance of the service which I thought we could render, would have justified my absence from the present catch-penny Congress. My enemies, your enemies, the enemies of the cause, would exult if the mounted regiment should, from any cause, be unable to carry a strong arm against the savages and British, when you strike the grand blow.

"It is with diffidence I write you any thing touching military matters; but the desires of my soul, and the situation of the regiment, have induced me thus freely to express myself. In the morning we shall leave this place for Huron, ready to receive your orders, which will be always cheerfully executed at every hazard.

"Your obedient servant,

"Ri. M. Johnson."

On learning the situation of the regiment, General Harrison advised the War Department, and the order for detaching it to Illinois was rescinded.

CHAPTER XVII.

Second siege of Fort Meigs.

Early in July 1813, the Indians began again to infest the country around Fort Meigs. Tecumthe was in the field with a large force; and Dickson, an active partisan who had great control among the British Indians, was also there. Their united bands amounted to 5000 warriors. General Harrison received this intelligence at Lower Sandusky, to which place he had just returned from Cleaveland. Leaving Major Croghan with 160 regulars at Fort Stephenson, Lower Sandusky, he established his head quarters at Seneca Town, nine miles further up the river; and with only 140 regulars, began to fortify a camp. He was soon after joined by 450 regulars, under Colonels Paul of the infantry, and Ball of the dragoons; and by Generals M'Arthur and Cass, of Ohio.

At Seneca, the general, with his usual sagacity, had chosen a position from which he could with facility fall back to the protection of his principal depôt at Upper Sandusky, should the enemy endeavour to turn his flank and attack that place; or he would be able, should the safety of Fort Meigs require it, to proceed there undiscovered, on a secret

route, and cut his way into the fort; or he would be in a situation from which, whenever his force should be sufficient, he could carry on offensive operations. Fort Meigs and Upper Sandusky were the points to be defended—Lower Sandusky was comparatively unimportant.

General Harrison supposed that a movement of the Indians which had just taken place towards Fort Winchester, was intended as a feint to draw his attention in that direction, while an attack would be made on Cleaveland or Lower Sandusky. He was therefore actively engaged in reconnoitring the routes to Upper Sandusky, and watching the lake.

On the 28th of July, the enemy abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs, and sailed round into Sandusky bay; their savage allies marching across, to cooperate in a combined attack on Lower Sandusky. General Harrison, expecting this movement, was preparing for it. He had, with Major Croghan, and some other officers, made a thorough examination of Fort Stephenson, and the surrounding heights, and was satisfied that this work was entirely untenable. It was calculated for a garrison of only 200 men, was commanded by the neighbouring grounds, and could not be defended against heavy artillery. The orders, therefore, to Major Croghan, were, "Should the British troops approach you in force, with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so im-

mediately." "You must be aware, that the attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."*

The general received the intelligence of the raising of the siege of Fort Meigs on the evening of July 29; and anticipating an attack on Fort Stephenson, or on his head quarters at Seneca, called a council of war, consisting of M'Arthur, Cass, Ball, Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes, and Graham, who unanimously concurred with him that Fort Stephenson could not be defended against artillery, and that, being an unimportant post, the garrison should be withdrawn. The following order was in consequence sent to Major Croghan:—

"SIR,

"Immediately on receiving this letter, you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it, and repair with your command this night to head quarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron, and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch."

The messenger who carried this order missed his way, and Major Croghan did not receive it until

* M'Affee, Dawson.

the next day, when he did not conceive he could retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering round the fort, in large numbers. A majority of his officers coincided with him in opinion, and the following note was written to the general:—

"SIR,

"I have just received yours of yesterday, ten o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by Heavens we can."

Major Croghan, in writing this note, took into consideration the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and used language of which, under other circumstances, he would have seen the impropriety. General Harrison, who was not acquainted with the secret reasons which dictated the dispatch, no sooner received it, than he sent Colonel Wells to Fort Stephenson, escorted by a squadron of dragoons, with the following letter:—

"*July* 30, 1813.

"SIR,

"The general has just received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the in-

formation which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstances, and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be intrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place. By command, &c.

"A. H. HOLMES, Ass't. Ad't. Gen."

The squadron of dragoons by whom this order was sent, found the fort surrounded by lurking parties of Indians, some of whom they pursued and cut down. Major Croghan returned to head quarters, as directed, and was politely received by General Harrison, to whom he made such explanations as were deemed entirely satisfactory. The next morning he was reinstated in his command, with orders of the same tenor as those above stated. No opportunity, however, was afforded to the gallant major to evacuate his post. On the morning of the 31st of July, the enemy approached Fort Stephenson by water, and landed a number of troops, with a light howitzer. The fort was then summoned,

and the same declaration made, which was usually employed by the British during this campaign; namely, that unless the garrison should surrender, they could not be protected from massacre by the Indians, in case the fort should be taken. To this atrocious threat, as unjustifiable by any of the usages of war, as it was cowardly and discourteous, Ensign Shipp, who received the flag, replied on the part of Major Croghan, "That when the fort should be taken, there would be none left to massacre; as it would not be given up while a man was able to fight."

A fire was opened from some six-pounders in the boats, and from the howitzer, with little effect. The fort was surrounded by 500 British regulars, and 800 Indians, the whole commanded by General Proctor in person; while Tecumthe, with 2000 Indians, watched the road to Fort Meigs, to intercept any reinforcement that might attempt to approach in that direction. Croghan had but one piece of artillery, a six-pounder, which he removed from place to place, and fired in different directions, to induce the belief that he had several guns. Thus passed the evening and night.

The firing was commenced early the next morning, and continued through the day. In the evening an assault was made by the whole force of the enemy, in two columns, one led by Colonel Short, the other by Colonel Warburton and Major Cham-

bers. They rushed to the works with great bravery; but one column was completely prostrated by a fire from the six-pounder, which was suddenly opened from a masked embrasure; while the other was thrown into confusion by a destructive fire of musketry, kept up by Captain Hunter. Colonel Short, a lieutenant, and twenty-five privates, were left dead in the ditch, and twenty-six of the enemy, badly wounded, were taken. The loss on our side was *one* killed, and *seven* slightly wounded. There were probably 150 of the enemy killed and wounded.

When the fighting ceased, it was dark, and the situation of the wounded in the ditch was deplorable. Complete relief could not, with safety, be afforded them from either side. Major Croghan, however, instead of imitating the conduct of the enemy, who usually caused the wounded and prisoners to be dispatched, or subjected them to insults and cruelty worse than death, continued to convey water to them over the picketing, and opened a passage, through which such as chose crept into the fort, and were kindly treated.

At three o'clock the next morning, the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat.

Fort Stephenson, which was the scene of this singular and gallant achievement, was not a regular fortification. It was originally an Indian trading post, consisting of a large house surrounded by

pickets. For the convenience of making it a temporary depôt for provisions, General Harrison had enlarged the enclosure on one side, and had caused a ditch to be drawn round the whole, so as to render it safe from any attack by an Indian force; but it was never contemplated that it could be held against regular troops. It was a mere outpost, of little importance; and has derived its consequence solely from the remarkable facts of which it was the scene—from being assailed by the British commanding general in person, at the head of an imposing force, and successfully defended by a handful of brave but inexperienced soldiers.

In his official report, General Harrison remarks, "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications, to find that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is however a hero, worthy of his gallant uncle, General George Rogers Clarke." The officers under Croghan in this noble affair, were Captain Hunter, of the 17th, Lieutenants Johnson and Baylor, of the 17th, Anthony and Anderson, of the 24th, Meeks, of the 7th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan,* of the 17th—all of whom behaved handsomely.

The best acts of distinguished men are often misunderstood, or mischievously perverted. No sooner was the brilliant achievement of Croghan known

* Joseph Duncan, now governor of Illinois.

to the public, than the enemies of Harrison assailed him with the most bitter denunciations. The men who sate by their firesides, enjoying all the comforts of peace, while war was raging on our borders—the opposers of the administration of the virtuous Madison—the craven spirits who would have purchased a peace from Britain by dishonourable submission, now poured out a stream of malignant sarcasm upon the leader of an army, whose patriotism and sufferings they were incompetent to appreciate. The decided disapprobation with which these charges against the character of their accomplished leader, were viewed by the officers under Harrison, must be evident from the prompt and indignant manner in which they were refuted. When the newspapers in which these unjust strictures were published, reached the army, the officers highest in rank, who had witnessed all the transactions, conceived it their duty to publish the truth, while the circumstances were yet fresh in memory; and the following paper was signed, and forwarded to the interior for publication :—

"Lower Seneca Town, *Aug.* 19, 1813.

"The undersigned, being the general, field, and staff officers, with that portion of the north-western army under the immediate command of General Harrison, have observed with regret and surprise, that charges, as improper in the form as in the

substance, have been made against the conduct of General Harrison, during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky. At another time, and under ordinary circumstances, we should deem it improper and unmilitary thus publicly to give any opinion respecting the movements of the army. But public confidence in the commanding general is essential to the success of the campaign, and causelessly to withdraw or to withhold that confidence, is more than individual injustice; it becomes a serious injury to the service. A part of the force of which the American army consists, will derive its greatest strength and efficacy from a confidence in the commanding general, and from those moral causes which accompany and give energy to public opinion. A very erroneous idea respecting the number of the troops then at the disposal of the general, has doubtless been the primary cause of those unfortunate and unfounded impressions. In that respect we have fortunately experienced a very favourable change. But we refer the public to the general's official report to the Secretary of War, of Major Croghan's successful defence of Lower Sandusky. In that will be found a statement of our whole disposable force; and he who believes that with such a force, and under the circumstances which then occurred, General Harrison ought to have advanced upon the enemy, must be left to correct his opinion in the school of experience.

"On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion, that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our own circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. The reasons for this opinion it is evidently improper now to give; but we hold ourselves ready at a future period, and when other circumstances shall have intervened, to satisfy every man of its correctness who is anxious to investigate and willing to receive the truth. And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a general, whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country.

Lewis Cass, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
Samuel Wells, Col. 17 R. U. S. I.
Thomas D. Owings, Col. 28 R. U. S. I.
George Paul, Col. 17 R. U. S. I.
J. C. Bartlett, Col. Q. M. G.
James V. Ball, Lieut. Col.
Robert Morrison, Lieut. Col.
George Todd, Maj. 19 R. U. S. I.
William Trigg, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.
James Smiley, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.
Rd. Graham, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.
George Croghan, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.
L. Hukill, Maj. & Assist. Insp. Gen.
E. D. Wood, Maj. Engineers."

The gallant Croghan, too, scorning to receive applause at the expense of the honour of a general whose intrepidity and wisdom had been the themes of eulogy throughout the whole army, immediately published a document which reflects as high credit on the character of this noble-spirited Kentuckian, as the victory to which it alludes. We lay it before the reader, that the opinion of Croghan may be seen, as written by himself, on the battle-ground at Sandusky.

"LOWER SANDUSKY, *Aug.* 27, 1813.

"I have with much regret seen in some of the public prints such misrepresentations respecting my refusal to evacuate this post, as are calculated not only to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also to excite unfavourable impressions as to the propriety of General Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

"His character as a military man is too well established to need my approbation or support. But his public service entitles him at least to common justice. This affair does not furnish cause of reproach. If public opinion has been lately misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool, dispassionate reflection, to convince them of its propriety. THE MEASURES RECENTLY ADOPTED BY HIM, SO FAR FROM DESERVING CENSURE, ARE THE CLEAREST PROOFS OF HIS KEEN PENETRATION AND ABLE GENERALSHIP. It is true

that I did not proceed immediately to execute his order to evacuate this post; but this disobedience was not, as some would wish to believe, the result of a fixed determination to maintain the post contrary to his most positive orders, as will appear from the following detail, which is given to explain my conduct.

"About 10 o'clock on the morning of the 30th ultimo, a letter from the adjutant general's office, dated Seneca Town, July 29th, 1813, was handed me by Mr. Connor, ordering me to abandon this post, burn it, and retreat that night to head quarters. On the reception of the order, I called a council of officers, in which it was determined not to abandon the place, at least until the further pleasure of the general should be known, as it was thought that an attempt to retreat in the open day, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, would be more hazardous than to remain in the fort, under all its disadvantages. I therefore wrote a letter to the general, couched in such terms as I thought were calculated to deceive the enemy should it fall into his hands, which I thought more than probable,—as well as to inform the general, should it be so fortunate as to reach him, that I would wait to hear from him, before I should proceed to execute his order. This letter, contrary to my expectations, was received by the general, who, not knowing what reasons urged me to write in a tone so decisive,

concluded very rationally that the manner of it was demonstrative of the most positive determination to disobey his order under any circumstances. I was therefore suspended from the command of the fort, and ordered to head quarters. But on explaining to the general my reason for not executing his orders, and my object in using the style I had done, he was so perfectly satisfied with the explanation, that I was immediately reinstated in the command.

"It will be recollected that the order above alluded to, was written on the night previous to my receiving it—had it been delivered to me, as was intended, that night, I should have obeyed it without hesitation; its not reaching me in time was the only reason which induced me to consult my officers on the propriety of waiting the general's further orders.

"It has been stated, also, that 'upon my representations of my ability to maintain the post, the general altered his determination to abandon it.' This is incorrect. No such representations were ever made. And the last order I received from the general was precisely the same as that first given, viz. 'That if I discovered the approach of a large British force by water, (presuming that they would bring heavy artillery,) time enough to effect a retreat, I was to do so; but if I could not retreat with safety, to defend the post to the last extremity.'

"A day or two before the enemy appeared before Fort Meigs, the general had reconnoitred the surrounding ground, and being informed that the hill on the opposite side of Sandusky completely commanded the fort, I offered to undertake, with the troops under my command, to remove it to that side. The general, upon reflection, thought it best not to attempt it, as he believed that if the enemy again appeared on this side of the lake, it would be before the work could be finished.

"It is useless to disguise the fact, that this fort is commanded by the points of high ground around it; a single stroke of the eye made this clear to me the first time I had occasion to examine the neighbourhood, with a view of discovering the relative strength and weakness of the place.

"It would be insincere to say that I am not flattered by the many handsome things which have been said about the defence which was made by the troops under my command; but I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of General Harrison.

"I have at all times enjoyed his confidence so far as my rank in the army entitled me to it, and on proper occasions received his marked attention. I have felt the warmest attachment for him as a man, and my confidence in him as an *able commander* remains unshaken. I feel every assurance that he will at all times do me ample justice; and

nothing could give me more pain than to see his enemies seize upon this occasion to deal out their unfriendly feelings and acrimonious dislike—and as long as he continues (as in my humble opinion he has hitherto done) to make the wisest arrangements and most judicious disposition which the forces under his command will justify, I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits, and which has on no occasion been withheld.

"Your friend,

"GEORGE CROGHAN,

"*Maj. 17th Infantry, commanding Lower Sandusky.*"

It would be improper to pass over so important a passage in the life of General Harrison, without comment; and the more so, as there is no event in the brilliant career of this accomplished leader, in which he has evinced such consummate generalship; yet none in which his conduct has been so little understood, or so grossly misrepresented.

At the period when Croghan was ordered to evacuate Fort Stephenson, Fort Meigs was invested by 1500 British regulars and Canadians, and by 5000 Indian warriors led by Tecumthe and Dickson. A large portion of the latter were Winnebagoes, and others, of the fiercest of the Indian tribes, from the shores of the upper lakes; who were brought for the first time to operate against

the army of Harrison, by a promise that Fort Meigs should be stormed, and that the garrison and property should be given over to the Indians, to be dealt with according to their own rules of warfare.

Information of these facts was brought to General Harrison by Captains Oliver and M'Cune, who intrepidly passed through the invading force, to head quarters, to solicit a reinforcement.

Captain M'Cune returned with advices from General Harrison to General Clay, and had just reached Fort Meigs, when the allied enemy practised a subtle manœuvre, for the purpose of drawing our troops out from the fort. A sham fight was acted in sight of the garrison: the Indian yell was heard, and the savages seen attacking a column of Canadians, who were but partially visible, and who were intended to represent the troops of Harrison. The white men were thrown into confusion; and then rallied, and the Indians gave back. It was supposed that General Clay would mistake the Canadians for a strong reinforcement coming to his relief; and seeing them thus engaged, would rush out with his whole force to their support. But the recent arrival of M'Cune with advices from head quarters, prevented the American general from being deceived; although the stratagem was so well executed, that the troops, notwithstanding the

representations of M'Cune, could scarcely be restrained.

Some dissatisfaction on the part of Tecumthe at an alleged act of bad faith in Proctor, induced that chief to withdraw with 500 warriors in the direction of Fort Winchester. This movement being at variance with the most recent advices, and with the supposed plans of the enemy, made it more necessary for the commander-in-chief to look closely to the present safety of several important points, which he was preparing to defend.

The most important places to be looked to, were Upper Sandusky and Cleaveland. The former was the principal depôt of provisions, upon which the whole army depended for its support; and at the latter the boats were building, under the direction of Major Jessup, for the transportation of the troops in the intended descent upon Malden.

On the receipt, therefore, of the intelligence brought by the intrepid Oliver, and of other information, the general fell back, with the small disposable force under his immediate command, to Seneca, thirty miles in advance of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of covering that important place, and of throwing out assistance to Cleaveland or Fort Meigs, as circumstances might require.

The Indian force then in the field was the largest and most formidable which had ever been assembled; it was one with which General Harrison had

not the strength to contend in open battle; but he well knew that it could not be kept together for any considerable length of time; and his undoubted policy was to keep his inferior force as much together as possible, under the cover of their fortifications—to avoid weakening his army by detachments, which would probably be cut off—to cover his provisions and boats—and to be prepared, on the dispersion of the Indians, to strike a decisive blow at the enemy, in his strong-hold at Malden.

Fort Stephenson was an outpost, used for a temporary purpose, and not forming any material part of the great plan, either of defence or attack; and which, therefore, it would not have been good policy to maintain at any great expense of blood, or by any hazard of more important objects. The order therefore to Croghan to abandon that work, was dictated by sound military principles. The accidental delay of the delivery of that order to Major Croghan, and the more rapid approach of the enemy than had been expected, justified that brave and chivalrous officer in the determination to maintain his post. But the same reason which rendered it impracticable for Croghan to retire, made it equally impossible for the general to advance a detachment to his relief. An immense Indian force was lying in wait for such a movement; and although the small parties of mounted men, who bore the orders to and fro, eluded or cut their way

through them, any larger body of troops attempting to pass between Seneca and Lower Sandusky, must have been cut to pieces—a catastrophe which would have given renewed audacity to the enemy, while it would have so crippled our army as to have disabled the general from giving efficient protection to Upper Sandusky and Cleaveland.

Add to all this the facts, that Fort Meigs was strong and ably defended, and needed no reinforcement, unless the siege should be protracted; and that the strongest corps under Harrison's immediate command, was a fine squadron of dragoons which could not act efficiently in the wooded country around Seneca, and towards Lower Sandusky, but would form a potent force in the open plains around Upper Sandusky, to which the general proposed to retire,—and it will be seen that this sagacious leader had maturely weighed every contingent circumstance, and adopted the only measures consistent with the safety of his army, and the honour of the American name.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preparations for the invasion of Canada.

THE time had now arrived when General Harrison found himself in a condition to reap the fruits of his long and arduous exertions, to carry into effect the intentions of the government, and to realize the hopes and expectations of the country. Through a long series of hardships, and in the face of the most appalling obstacles, he had successfully defended the frontier from depredation, and the fireside of the citizen from the desecration of brutal violence. The troops, animated by the spirit of the commander-in-chief, and by the noble examples of the distinguished gentlemen who held high commands under him, had borne themselves with great courage in action, and with heroic patience under the severities of the climate and the privations of the wilderness.

It is not to be disguised, that on some occasions disaffection showed itself in the army; the men became impatient for action, or clamorous to return to their homes, and the conduct of General Harrison was censured in the newspapers of the day. It is almost fruitless to inquire, now, why any attempt should have been made to discredit a

commander possessing the confidence of the troops and the people in a most remarkable degree, and directing his force with such uniform conduct and discretion. It is to be recollected, however, that this army was composed chiefly of militia, who volunteered their services for short periods; and that the individuals composing each corps, would naturally desire that their own brief term of employment should be signalized by some brilliant exploit. The American volunteer goes to the field under high excitement—with lively feelings of patriotism and of personal honour, which induce an eagerness for battle, and an impatience to return home with the laurels of victory. Patient endurance of delay, blind obedience, passive and uninquiring submission, are not the virtues of irregular troops.

The army of Harrison was made up chiefly of citizens—high-spirited men, of every grade of intellect—recently from home—unused to military restraint—and accustomed to think for themselves. Some of the officers were lawyers and politicians; some were members of Congress, or of the state legislatures; and a few had served in previous wars. There was of course a great diversity of opinion in relation to every movement of the army, graduated from the extreme of caution to that of rashness. They did not reflect that General Harrison had military experience, knowledge of the country, and intimacy with the Indian character,

superior to their own; that he had more extensive means of acquiring information; that he was acting under instructions which it was not his duty to make public; and that, after all, he was the responsible individual, who would have to bear all the blame in case of failure, and who was bound to think for himself. He consulted his officers freely, and then acted according to his own judgment.

Nor was the peculiar situation of General Harrison understood by those who clamoured for more speedy results than those which seemed at first to follow his operations. His first and most sacred duty was to defend the firesides of his countrymen. An immense line of exposed frontier was committed to his care; and he would have been a traitor to his trust, had he permitted a thirst for personal fame to lead him madly into the enemy's country, while his own was at the mercy of the savage. Like every other gallant soldier, he coveted military reputation, and ardently longed to meet the foe on the battle-field; but it is, and ever has been, a noble trait in the character of this distinguished man, to sacrifice all personal considerations to his sense of duty. Few men in high station have ever evinced such uniform disinterestedness.

We hope we shall not be misunderstood when we say that discontents, on a few occasions, prevailed among our troops. It would have been extraordinary if such had not been the case. Seldom

have troops suffered so much or so cheerfully; seldom has there been an army so badly supported by the government, and upon whose individual patriotism, courage, and resources, so great dependence was unavoidably placed. A large majority of the citizens who were thus situated were rash hot-blooded young men, the sons of independent farmers,—the pride and flower of the chivalrous West. They were men who *thought*, and had a right to think; and whenever men think, there will be a diversity of opinion. As a general fact, however, and with only a few rare and brief exceptions, Harrison enjoyed the affection and confidence of his followers to an unlimited extent, and the utmost harmony prevailed throughout the army. When, in a few instances, the troops became dissatisfied, his manner of bringing them back to their sense of duty was as characteristic of himself, as it was indicative of his talent for commanding, and knowledge of human nature. He did not forget that he commanded an army of citizens, that he was but a citizen himself, elevated for the time above his equals, for the public good, and occupying a patriarchal station. Instead, therefore, of employing coercion, or using degrading punishments, he appealed to their patriotism in animated harangues, which never failed to produce the desired effect. During the whole term of his service, *he never caused a militia soldier to be punished, yet always*

commanded the respect and obedience of the militia. His speeches are said to have been uncommonly happy; they were pointed, glowing, and always appropriate to the occasion. Like the celebrated General Mifflin of Pennsylvania, his eloquence enabled him to command, without the appearance of effort.

Having with consummate skill carried forward the defensive operations of the war up to this point, General Harrison now proceeded to mature his plan for the capture of Malden, and the conquest of Upper Canada. Commodore Perry had been directed to co-operate with him; Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment, which had returned home, was again called into service; Governor Meigs exerted himself to bring the brave Ohians into the field; and the venerable Shelby, at the invitation of Harrison, resolved to lead in person, to the invasion of Canada, a fresh band of Kentuckians.

CHAPTER XIX.

Perry's victory—Preparations for invading Canada.

Our attention will now be directed briefly to the naval armament upon Lake Erie, which had grown up, as if by magic, in the bosom of the wilderness. At the commencement of the year 1813, the British had a fleet, which gave them the command of the lake, while not a vessel floated under our flag westward of the Falls of Niagara. The government, finding how necessary it was to gain the ascendency upon the lakes, determined to proceed vigorously in the creation of a fleet; and the heroic Perry was, in a happy hour for his country, appointed to superintend this important work. It is said that several officers of the same grade declined the command on Lake Erie, under the impression that there would be less opportunity of reaping laurels there than on the ocean; but the gallant Perry more sagaciously reflected, that an officer gained the highest honour by serving where the country most demanded his services, and that a victory achieved upon an inland lake, in the command of a fleet, would be more unique and brilliant than any exploit which could be performed with a single ship on the ocean.

The difficulties that attended the building of a fleet at Erie, need not be dwelt upon. Like Harrison, he had every thing to create, and was obliged to rely much on his own mental resources, his personal influence, and his industry. Persevering with indefatigable resolution, through a series of perplexing and disheartening circumstances, his little fleet slowly but gradually swelled into maturity; and before the enemy was aware of the formidable character of the preparations which were going forward, the enterprising commodore was afloat on his favourite element, flushed with hope, and eager for battle.

On the 2d of August, 1813, the commodore commenced getting his heavier vessels over the bar at the mouth of the harbour of Erie. The operation required time and care, and it was successfully effected in the sight of the enemy, whose fleet arrived off Erie on the 3d, and after watching this operation, retired as soon as all our vessels were seen riding safely on the lake. The commodore now proceeded to Sandusky Bay, where he was visited by General Harrison, who supplied him with some men, to act as marines.

Our fleet then proceeded towards Malden, and the American flag was proudly displayed before the strong-hold of the enemy. The British launched another vessel, and the two fleets were apparently of equal force; but the superiority was undoubtedly

theirs, as their vessels were larger, and carried more guns than ours. The whole number of guns carried by our squadron was fifty-four cannon, and two swivels; while the British mounted sixty-three cannon, two swivels, and four howitzers.

As the enemy made no show of an intention to accept the challenge thrown out by the appearance of our fleet on their shores, the gallant commodore retired; and again visited Malden after an absence of some days. At length, on the 10th of September, Commodore Barclay, a skilful and veteran officer, sailed from Malden, and offered battle to our eager seamen. We shall not repeat here the details of this brilliant action, which are familiar to our countrymen. The battle was hard fought, and skilfully directed—and the chivalrous Perry gathered laurels as lasting as they were dearly earned and richly merited. With a fleet constructed under his own eye, and crews disciplined by himself—on an untried scene—he planned his battle with sagacity, and conducted it with a coolness, and a prodigality of self-exposure, never excelled. For two hours and a half, the victory was doubtful; but our triumph in the event was complete, and the whole of the enemy's squadron was captured. "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," were the brief words in which Perry announced his splendid triumph to the commander-in-chief of the north-western army.

Had the noble deeds of Perry ended here, his name would deservedly have been placed among the foremost of naval heroes—but the brightness of his fame was enhanced by other circumstances —his courtesy to the prisoners, his humanity to the wounded, the modesty with which he announced his victory, the disinterestedness with which he divided the glory of the triumph with his subordinates, and his subsequent conduct, leave us nothing to regret and nothing to wish in relation to the moral beauty of this achievement, and the spotless reputation of its hero. Many brave young officers distinguished themselves under his command, who are now serving with reputation, or are remembered with respect.

In the mean while, preparations were in active progress for the descent upon Canada. General M'Arthur, of Ohio, had been placed in command of Fort Meigs, with instructions to reduce the area of the works, and to make arrangements to ship the heavy artillery, and a portion of the military stores. The mounted regiment of Johnson repaired again to the frontier. By the 1st of September, the arrival of thirty wagons, and a brigade of pack-horses, placed the general in a condition to begin the business of transportation. The 9th of the same month had been appointed by the President, at the request of Congress, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; and little as religion is usually

respected in armies, this day was observed with decorum by all, and employed by many in exercises of sincere devotion.

Governor Shelby was on his way to the frontier with a strong body of mounted men; General Adair, a distinguished soldier, was one of his aids, and John J. Crittenden, equally eminent as a lawyer and politician, the other. These troops were organized, on their arrival at Urbana, into eleven regiments, commanded by Colonels Trotter, Donaldson, Poague, Montjoy, Renwick, Davenport, Paul, Calloway, Limral, Barbour, and Williams. These regiments were formed into five brigades, commanded by Brigadiers Calmes, Chiles, King, Allen, and Caldwell, and the whole into two divisions, under Major Generals William Henry and Joseph Desha.

CHAPTER XX.

Invasion of Canada—Battle of the Thames, and capture of the British army—Expedition to Niagara—Resignation of General Harrison.

The artillery, military stores, and provisions, at Fort Meigs, were embarked on the 16th of September, 1813, by General M'Arthur. General Clay, with the Kentuckians at that place, whose term of service had expired, had solicited permission to accompany the proposed expedition, and now proceeded with the stores. The provisions from Upper Sandusky were also pushed forward; and the troops were concentrated at the place of embarkation on Sandusky Bay. On the 20th, General Harrison embarked with the regular troops under Generals M'Arthur and Cass; and between that time and the 24th, the remainder of the army followed to the place of rendezvous, at Put-in Bay. On the 26th, General Harrison sailed with Commodore Perry, in the Ariel, to reconnoitre Malden; and on his return issued a general order, prescribing minutely the order of debarkation, march, and battle, in the clear and accurate manner customary with this accomplished commander.

On the 27th the army was embarked, and proceeded towards the Canada shore; the general having first circulated among the troops a spirited address, in which, among other things, he said, "Remember the River Raisin; but remember it only whilst victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified on a fallen enemy."

The army landed in high spirits; but not an enemy was to be seen. Proctor had burned the fort and navy-yard, and retreated to Sandwich. The victory of Perry, and the advance of Harrison, had daunted the courage of the British commander; yet he had, a few days before, proclaimed martial law, and was issuing 15,000 rations per day—a fact which shows him to have been at the head of a numerous force.

The troops encamped that night on the ruins of Malden. This was a proud moment for the patriotic Harrison. Surrounded by his gallant fellow-citizens, he stood upon the ruined breastworks of that fortress from which destruction had been poured upon the frontier, whence the Indian had been sent forth with the firebrand and tomahawk to his work of desolation, and where the gory scalps of Americans—of women and children, as well as of men slain in fight—were exhibited as trophies of British victory. The strong-hold of the enemy was abandoned.

Harrison wrote to the War Department, "I will

pursue the enemy to-morrow, although there is no probability of overtaking him, as he has upwards of 1000 horses, and we have not one in the army." He proceeded, accordingly, the next day, to Sandwich; but Proctor had fled.

"The inhabitants of Canada had fled from their houses, and hid their property, on the approach of the American army, fully expecting that the Kentuckians, *like the British*, would plunder and massacre all before them: but they found themselves happily disappointed in these expectations."* Governor Shelby, who accompanied General Harrison, had issued an order to the Kentucky volunteers, in which he said, "While the army remains in this country, it is expected that the inhabitants will be treated with justice and humanity, and their property secured from unnecessary and wanton injury."

On the 1st of October, the general officers were convened, and General Harrison stated his intention of pursuing the enemy. He informed them, says M'Affee, "that there were but two ways of doing it—one of which was, to follow him up the strait, by land—the other, to embark and sail down Lake Erie to Long Point, then march hastily across by land twelve miles to the road, and intercept him. 'But the governor thinks, and so do I, that the best way will be, to pursue the enemy up the

* M'Affee.

strait, by land.' The general officers unanimously concurred in the same opinion, together with General Adair, first aid to the governor, who had been invited to the council. I have been thus particular in stating the facts," continues M'Affee, "relative to the determination to pursue the enemy, because it has been reported and believed that General Harrison never would have pursued farther than Sandwich, had it not been for Governor Shelby," &c. The fact is, there never was any difference of opinion between them, either as to the propriety of the pursuit, or the manner of performing it.

We shall pass over a number of interesting details which are not material to the issue; and bring the reader at once to the battle-ground. After a severe pursuit, the enemy was overtaken, on the 5th of October. General Proctor was well posted, in a position where his left was flanked by the river Thames, and his right by a swamp. Beyond the latter, and between it and another swamp still further to the right, were the Indians under Tecumthe. It was on this occasion that General Harrison practised a movement which, while it insured an easy victory, evinced a high degree of military genius, and promptitude of character. The army was formed upon proper military principles, with the addition, that the flanks and rear were more strongly secured than usual, to guard against the Indian mode of warfare,—when Colonel Wood reported to the

general, that he had just reconnoitred the enemy, and found their regular infantry formed in open order. Proctor had probably heard that this mode of formation was practised by us in fighting the Indians, and had misapplied the principle. He had committed an egregious error, and Harrison instantly availed himself of it. Aware that troops in open order, that is, with intervals of three or four feet between the files, could not resist a charge of mounted men, he directed Colonel Johnson to dash through the enemy's line in column. The experiment was made with brilliant success. The mounted men charged with ease through the ranks of the enemy, formed in their rear, and assailed their broken line. The battle was gained. No sooner was their line broken, than the British began to throw down their arms, and a victory, almost bloodless on our part, was obtained by the consummate ability with which the commander-in-chief wielded his forces, and the rapidity with which he took advantage of the mistakes of his adversary

On our left, some fighting took place with the Indians. A lively fire was kept up for a short time. The Indians rushed up to the mounted men, and fiercely contested the ground for a few minutes, until Tecumthe fell, as is supposed, by the hand of Colonel Johnson.

The whole British army was captured, with the exception of a few that galloped off with General

Proctor. A guilty conscience gave wings to the flight of this miscreant, whose whole career on our borders had been a continued series of treachery, rapine, and murder; and who having pledged himself to the Indians to give up to them General Harrison and his men, *when taken*, to be massacred and scalped, may have thought it not prudent to trust his own person in the hands of the Americans. A greater monster never existed in human shape; yet the British government sanctioned his atrocities, by giving him promotion.

The British had eighteen killed and twenty-six wounded; the number of prisoners taken was 600. Our loss was about the same in killed and wounded. The number of troops engaged on our side was less than 2500, of whom nearly all were militia. The enemy brought into the field 845 regular soldiers, and 2000 Indians; so that if there was any difference in point of numbers, it was in their favour.

We must close our protracted account of this splendid achievement. The defeat of the enemy was the consequence of a novel and most able disposition of our army by its commander, and the quickness with which he took advantage of the enemy's errors on the field of battle, at the moment of engaging, and of the gallantry of our brave troops. It closed the war in that quarter; and, together with the brilliant victory of Perry on the adjacent lake, rescued the whole north-western

frontier from the depredations of the savage, and from all the accumulated horrors of war. In the language of the Hon. Langdon Cheves on the floor of Congress, "The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the republic, the honours of a triumph. He put an end to the war in the uppermost Canada." He received his reward. He was complimented by Congress, and by various public bodies. There was but one voice—it was that of national gratitude, bursting out in loud acclamation, in applause of the public services of a great national benefactor.

As the enemy was now completely beaten on the north-western frontier, General Harrison determined to take part of his troops to the Niagara frontier, to assist in the operations that were going on in that quarter. This movement formed no part of the plan of the campaign which he was ordered to execute, but resulted solely from a desire to render those troops as serviceable as possible, which had been raised and organized at so great an expense of labour and money. The Secretary of War, then on the shores of the lower lakes, had, it is true, sent him an order to proceed to Niagara, when he should have completed the conquest of Upper Canada; but the bearer, Captain Brown, was drowned, and the order never reached General

Harrison—who now, in a second instance, anticipated the intentions of the government.

On his arrival at Fort Niagara, preparations were made for an expedition against Burlington Heights, which were arrested by an order from the Secretary of War, directing General Harrison to proceed to Sackett's Harbour with his troops. He accompanied the troops to the latter place, and then set out, by way of New-York and Philadelphia, for Washington. The news of the victory of the Thames had preceded him, and he was received everywhere with public rejoicings, and with the most decided demonstrations of respect.

In the city of Washington he remained but a few days. His presence in Ohio was considered essential; and he was urged by the President to repair to Cincinnati, to superintend the preparations for measures then in anticipation.

We are sorry to be obliged to add, that the military services of General Harrison were now brought abruptly to a close. He expected, and it was the expectation of the public, that an important command would be assigned him in the ensuing campaign. At that time the victories of Brown, Macomb, and Jackson, had not been gained. Harrison only had led his countrymen to victory, and he stood confessedly first on the list of American generals. The Secretary of War, however, had determined, for reasons which it would be difficult, at this pe-

riod, to explain, to dispense with the active services of this popular and successful officer; and in the plan for future operations, which he laid before the President, the command of a district was assigned to General Harrison, while the invasion of Canada was to be intrusted to others.

A brave officer, who had served under General Harrison, makes the following remarks on this subject:—

"The letter of the Secretary of War, of the 3d of November, gave strong indications, that so far as the arrangement could be controlled by his efforts, General Harrison would not be permitted to participate in any of the important or glorious operations of the approaching campaign. A major general who was in the prime of life, who had fought with reputation under Wayne, who had signalized his name and character in the memorable and well-contested events at Tippecanoe and Fort Meigs, and who had, by a bloodless victory on the Thames, achieved by the suggestions of his masterly genius, given peace to a widely extended frontier, restored an important territory to our government, and acquired possession of the greater portion of Upper Canada, was thus directed to remain in a district at no one point of which was there more than a regiment stationed." "In the mean time the Secretary had ventured on the very indelicate and outrageous proceeding of not only

designating a subordinate officer for a particular service, within the district, but of transmitting the order directly to him to take a certain portion of the troops, without consulting the commanding officer of the immediate post or district. His order of the 25th of April to Major Holmes, was not less insulting to the commanding general, than it was conducive to every species of insubordination. The command of a major general was not even nominal, if a secretary, at a distance of one thousand miles, were permitted thus to interfere in the internal concerns of his district. This course was evidently intended as a source of mortification to General Harrison, when contrasted with the unlimited powers confided to him in the campaigns of 1812–13. On the receipt, therefore, of the notification from the War Department, of the order of the 25th of April, General Harrison instantly addressed a letter of resignation to the Secretary, and a notification of it to the President. As soon as Governor Shelby heard of the resignation of General Harrison, he lost no time in addressing the President in his usual forcible terms, to prevent his acceptance of it; but unfortunately for the public interests, the President was on a visit to Virginia, to which place the letters from General Harrison and Governor Shelby were forwarded, and that of the latter was not received until after Secretary Armstrong, *without the previous consent of the President*, had

assumed to himself the high prerogative of accepting the resignation. The President expressed his great regret that the letter of Governor Shelby had not been received earlier, as in that case the valuable services of General Harrison would have been preserved to the nation in the ensuing campaign."*

If General Harrison had not been a disinterested and high-minded man—if he could have sacrificed his sense of duty to pecuniary considerations, he might have remained with his family, enjoying his high rank, and its emoluments, and reposing upon his laurels; but he disdained command, or the reception of pay for services which he was not permitted to perform, and cheerfully retired to private life when he could no longer be useful in the field.

* Dawson's Life of Harrison.

CHAPTER XXI.

Civil services since the war.

In the summer of 1814, General Harrison was appointed, in conjunction with Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians on the north-western frontier, and was successful in concluding a treaty at Greeneville, the old head quarters of General Wayne.

In 1815, after the peace with Great Britain, it became requisite, in compliance with the treaty made at Ghent, to offer to the several tribes who had taken part with the enemy, the restoration of the territories which they had occupied before the war, and from which they were driven by the victorious arms of Harrison. General Harrison was placed at the head of this commission, and General M'Arthur, and the Hon. John Graham, associated with him. A treaty was made by these commissioners, at Detroit, in the same year.

In 1816, he was elected a member of the house of representatives in Congress, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John M'Lean, and also for the succeeding two years. There were on this occasion six candidates, but he received a majority of more than a thousand votes

over the number given for all his competitors, when added together.

About this time, one of the contractors of the army, whose gains had been reduced by General Harrison's rigid integrity, endeavoured to injure his character, by charging him with improper conduct while in command of the army. General Harrison demanded an investigation by Congress, and a committee was appointed, who, after a strict examination, reported by their chairman, Richard M. Johnson, that General Harrison "stood above suspicion," and "that he was, in his measures, governed by a proper zeal and devotion to the public interest." One of the members of the committee, Mr. Hulbert, in a few remarks which he made on the occasion, said that he had been prejudiced against General Harrison, but this investigation satisfied him that the accusation was false and cruel. "He was confident that directly the reverse was true. There was the most satisfactory evidence that the general, in the exercise of his official duties, and in his devotion to the public interest, had neglected his private concerns to his material detriment and injury. In a word," said Mr. Hulbert, "I feel myself authorized to say, that every member of the committee is fully satisfied, that the conduct of General Harrison in relation to the subject-matter of this inquiry, has been that of a brave honest, and honourable man; and that, instead of

deserving censure, he merits the thanks and applause of his country."

This investigation also satisfied Congress, that General Harrison had been unjustly treated by the War Department; and a resolution giving him a gold medal, and the thanks of Congress, was now passed, unanimously in the senate, and with only one dissenting voice in the house.

There were two subjects which General Harrison had greatly at heart, in seeking a seat in Congress. One of these was the adoption of an efficient militia system; and the other, the relief of the veteran soldiers who had served in the two wars for independence. President Washington, and all his successors, had urged upon Congress the necessity of a more perfect organization of the militia; but the difficulties which surrounded the subject had been such, that nothing had been done in relation to it. As it was well understood, that General Harrison not only took a great interest in this subject, but fully understood it, he was placed at the head of the committee to whom it was referred; and he reported a bill, together with an explanatory report, in the latter of which are discussed the points: first, that a government constituted like ours should rely upon its militia for defence, rather than on a standing army; secondly, that the militia should be disciplined; and thirdly, that a state of discipline adequate to the object can only be ob-

tained by the adoption of a system of military instruction combined with the ordinary education of youth. The bill seemed to be generally approved; but the indisposition which has always been evinced in Congress towards the discussion of this subject, caused a delay in taking it up; and it was not until near the close of the session that General Harrison, by great exertions, succeeded in getting it debated in committee of the whole. His speech on that occasion has not been fully reported; but Mr. Williams of North Carolina, afterwards, in speaking on another question, remarked that "the gentleman from Ohio had depicted the dangers of a standing army to a government like ours, in a strain of eloquence such as had rarely been witnessed in that house." We are enabled to present a very meagre outline of the argument of that masterly effort.

Mr. Harrison remarked, that the devoted attachment which has always been manifested by the soldiers of a veteran army towards a successful general, had its source in a principle of the human mind, which was the same in all countries, and in all ages. The people of the United States had no reason to expect that they would be exempt from the fate of other republics, unless they took wisdom from experience, and avoided the errors which had been fatal to the liberties of other nations. The greatest of those errors was the employment of

mercenary armies for their defence—in other words, making the military a distinct profession. The necessity of adopting this system arose from the neglect of qualifying the citizens to become their own protectors. If the citizens were not soldiers, soldiers must be employed in war who were not citizens; or citizens who, by devoting themselves to the use of arms, as a profession, would soon lose the character of citizens. In a republic which would secure safety from foreign aggression and domestic insurrection, the two characters must be united.

But the mere enrolment of persons for military service did not render them soldiers. To become such, they must be subjected to a rigid discipline. The source of courage in armies is the consciousness, on the part of the soldier, of possessing the power to annoy his enemy, and to defend himself. To acquire the knowledge and the expertness to give this confidence, long practice in the use of arms, and in military evolutions, is necessary—so long, that the citizens who were enrolled for militia duty, could never spare the time from their other avocations, to acquire them. To force them to do so, would prove, to the poorer class especially, an intolerable burthen, unless they were paid, which would not be practicable, with the limited resources of our treasury. The opinion prevailed generally, that arming and enrolling the militia was sufficient, and the exploits of the armed citizens during the

late war had been quoted, as sustaining that position; in answer to which Mr. Harrison said, that glorious as were the performances of the undisciplined militia in the late contes, the victories gained by them were, with a single exception, achieved under circumstances peculiarly adapted to their mode of warfare, or where their superiority in the use of small-arms gave them a decided advantage; while the disasters they suffered, were all attributable to the want of discipline, not the absence of gallantry—for the latter was conspicuous on every occasion. Battles in the field were gained, in modern times, as far as troops are concerned, by a facility in performing evolutions, not by superiority in firing; or as was observed by the famous Count Saxe, "by the legs, rather than the arms."

In the commencement of the late war, continued Mr. H., it was believed that a small body of regular troops, with the aid of the militia, would be sufficient. The establishment accordingly consisted of two major generals, and twenty regiments; but it was increased at every session of Congress, until it amounted to six major generals and fifty regiments, and if the war had continued two years longer, there would have been one hundred of the latter—so fully established had become the opinion, that the resources of the nation would be inadequate to carry on a protracted war with undisciplined militia. If then standing armies were dangerous

to a republic, and if an undisciplined militia is inadequate to its defence, what course was to be adopted? The militia must be disciplined. But how was this to be accomplished? Mr. H. entered into a minute examination of all the plans that had been proposed at various times, and found them unsatisfactory. Among them was one proposed by General Knox, during the administration of Washington. This came nearer to Mr. Harrison's own plan than any other. It established the principle, that the military education of youth should take place between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and in camps of discipline. This was rejected upon the ground, that it would occupy too large a portion of that important period of life, when a young man was engaged in learning a trade or profession.

The plan proposed in the report, and supported by Mr. H., was that of the ancient republics, which mingled military instruction with the ordinary education of youth, commencing with the elementary military duties at the primary schools, and ending with the higher tactics at the colleges. The expense was to be borne by the United States; but to obviate the objection of the increase of patronage which it would give to the general government, the instructors were to be appointed by the states respectively.

The system explained in the speech of which we

have given a faint outline, was submitted to the executive, and was approved by all the heads of departments—especially by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crawford. The latter, having doubts of the constitutionality of such a national plan of education, drew up an amendment to the constitution in regard to it, to be submitted to Congress. We have seen the draft in his handwriting. But the whole scheme was unpalatable to Congress. Just escaped from a war, and wearied with military details, with which few of the members had any personal acquaintance, they were willing to escape from the consideration of a subject so little in accordance with their tastes. We shall only remark, that General Harrison's bill was strongly recommended by the republican features with which it was stamped. Had it been adopted, there would have existed no ground for the dispute about the preference for situations at West Point. The children of the rich and the poor would have received the same military education.

The subject of training the militia was one to which General Harrison's attention had been early directed. Although he had spent several years in the army as a regular officer, he had never thought of becoming a soldier by profession. But on entering upon civil duties, being always strongly addicted to historical reading, it was natural that his knowledge of military details should induce him to

relish those parts of history which treat of war. Having been educated in the strictest republican principles, he was particularly attracted by the early periods of the history of the ancient republics, when every citizen was a soldier; and seeing that their downfall was usually produced by the change in their military systems, which committed their defence to the hands of soldiers by profession, the predilections which, as a regular officer, he might be supposed to have imbibed, were completely obliterated by the impression, that the liberties of his own country might fall through the same cause. With such opinions he became governor of Indiana; and rejoicing in the opportunity offered by the possession of almost unlimited power, for trying the practicability of his views in regard to a militia, he commenced a system of discipline, in the expectation of rendering the citizens of the territory as efficient in its defence, as regular soldiers. The situation of the country rendered the experiment as necessary as it became popular; and the people cheerfully seconded the views of the governor. Being qualified for the task, he instructed them personally, performing all the duties of the drill officer; while he at the same time pursued that extensive course of reading which has rendered him one of the most accomplished soldiers of our country. Few men have read history with more care, or greater instruction. By these means, the

militia of Indiana were so well trained, that when the exigency occurred, they were found to equal regular soldiers. Had not such been the case, the advance upon Tippecanoe would not have been conducted with such consummate skill, nor closed with so brilliant a result. During the march, this body of troops was always ready to meet an enemy—at night they could be paraded in the order of battle without confusion—and when at last the enemy assailed them under the cover of darkness, they performed the frequent changes of position, which circumstances required, with facility and accuracy. It was a splendid triumph of genius—in which the reading, the thought, and the labour of years, were rewarded by a triumphantly successful result.

In the war which followed, General Harrison again exerted himself to show the efficiency of the militia. He omitted no opportunity to inculcate upon his countrymen that they were as capable of self-defence as of self-government, and that they needed as little a standing army to fight their battles, as an hereditary government to conduct their civil affairs; and he again proved the correctness of his views, by leading the gallant men of the West to battle and to victory.

In January, 1818, Mr. Harrison introduced a resolution, in the House of Representatives, in ho-

nour of the memory of Kosciusko, then recently deceased; and made a feeling and classical speech.

He also advocated warmly the proposition to acknowledge the independence of the South American republics.

While General Harrison was in the House of Representatives, the important debate arose, on the resolution to censure General Jackson for his conduct in the Seminole war; and he delivered on this subject a most elaborate and eloquent speech. It was one of the finest efforts elicited by that interesting occasion; but is chiefly admirable for its impartial and patriotic spirit. While he disapproved the course of General Jackson, and commented on his conduct with the manly independence of a freeman, he defended such of the acts of that distinguished citizen as he thought right, and did justice to his motives. His concluding remarks were as follows:—

"If the highest services could claim indemnity for crime, then might the conqueror of Platæa have been suffered to continue his usurpations until he had erected a throne upon the ruins of Grecian liberty. Sir, it will not be understood that I mean to compare General Jackson with these men. No; I believe that the principles of the patriot are as firmly fixed in his bosom as those of the soldier. But a republican government should make no distinctions between men, and should never relax its

maxims of security for any individual, however distinguished. No man should be allowed to say that he could do that with impunity which another could not do. If the father of his country were alive, and in the administration of the government, and had authorized the taking of the Spanish posts, I would declare my disapprobation as readily as I do now. Nay, more—because the more distinguished the individual, the more salutary the example. No one can tell how soon such an example may be beneficial. General Jackson will be faithful to his country; but I recollect that the virtues and patriotism of Fabius and Scipio, were soon followed by the crimes of Marius and the usurpation of Sylla. I am sure, sir, that it is not the intention of any gentleman upon this floor to rob General Jackson of a single ray of glory; much less to wound his feelings, or injure his reputation. And whilst I thank my friend from Mississippi, (Mr. Poindexter,) in the name of those who agree with me that General Jackson has done wrong, I must be permitted to decline the use of the address which he has so obligingly prepared for us, and substitute the following, as more consonant to our views and opinions. If the resolutions pass, I would address him thus: 'In the performance of a sacred duty imposed by their construction of the constitution, the representatives of the people have found it necessary to disapprove a single act of your brilliant

career; they have done it in the full conviction that the hero who has guarded her rights in the field, will bow with reverence to the civil institutions of his country—that he has admitted as his creed, that the character of the soldier can never be complete without eternal reference to the character of the citizen. Your country has done for you all that a country can do for the most favoured of her sons. The age of deification is past; it was an age of tyranny and barbarism: the adoration of man should be addressed to his Creator alone. You have been feasted in the Pritanes of the cities Your statue shall be placed in the capitol, and your name be found in the songs of the virgins. Go, gallant chief, and bear with you the gratitude of your country. Go, under the full conviction, that as her glory is identified with yours, she has nothing more dear to her but her laws, nothing more sacred but her constitution. Even an unintentional error shall be sanctified to her service. It will teach posterity that the government which could disapprove the conduct of a Marcellus, will have the fortitude to crush the vices of a Marius.'

"These sentiments, sir, lead to results in which all must unite. General Jackson will still live in the hearts of his fellow-citizens, and the constitution of your country will be immortal."

In 1819, General Harrison was elected a member of the senate in the legislature of Ohio; he

served in this capacity two years, devoting his mind to public business with his usual ability and industry. He was also, during this period, one of the electors of president and vice-president, and voted for James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins. He afterwards, as an elector, voted for Mr. Clay.

In 1822 he was again a candidate for Congress, and was defeated in consequence of having voted against the Missouri restriction.

In 1824 he was elected to the Senate of the United States; and was appointed chairman of the Military Committee, in place of General Jackson, who had resigned. He introduced, from that committee, a bill for the prevention of desertion in the army. He proposed to effect this object, not by increasing the punishment, but by raising the moral character of the army, elevating the grade of the non-commissioned officer, increasing his pay, and making him more respectable—and by holding out inducements to the soldier to perform his duty. These points he enforced in an elaborate and animated speech.

He also introduced a bill for decreasing the duty on salt; which he supported on the ground, that as this article is a necessary of life, it should not be burthened with a tax which would increase its price.

A bill to confer the appointment of cadets at West Point on the sons of those who had fallen in battle, in defence of the country, was introduced

into the Senate by Mr. Robertson of Louisiana; and on his resignation, was left in the care of General Harrison, who advocated it warmly.

He also devoted his attention while in the House, and afterwards in the Senate, to the subject of military pensions, and endeavoured to procure the passage of an uniform law, which should embrace the cases of all those who should be deserving of this kind of justice from their country.

His efforts in favour of the claims of the surviving soldiers of the revolution, will not soon be forgotten by the descendants of those heroes. His exertions, joined with those of the venerable Bloomfield, who, as chairman of the committee of the House, reported the bill, and of some other members, prevailed in rescuing those meritorious men from the evils of neglect and poverty. A speech delivered by him on this occasion has been published in the newspapers, and is one of the ablest of this gentleman's efforts—replete with good sense, eloquence, and humanity.

The next high station filled by General Harrison was that of minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, which he received in the year 1828. He proceeded immediately upon his mission, landed at Maracaybo on the 22d of December in that year, and repaired thence to Bogota. He found the country in a wretched state of confusion; the government a military despotism, and the people as igno-

rant of their rights as they were lawless in their conduct. He was received with the most flattering demonstrations of respect; but his liberal opinions, his stern republican integrity, and the plain simplicity of his dress and manners, contrasted too strongly with the arbitrary opinions and ostentatious behaviour of the public officers, to allow him to be long a favourite with those who had usurped the power of that government. They feared that the people would perceive the difference between a real and a pretended patriot, and commenced a series of persecutions against our minister, which rendered his situation extremely irksome. He sustained himself, however, with his usual gallantry and prudence.

The letter of General Harrison to Bolivar has already been published; but we must take the liberty of reprinting this elegant and vigorous production, which does honour to the talents of the writer, while it shows how deeply his mind is imbued with the principles of liberty, and the fear of military encroachment. No American can read it without emotions of pride.

BOGOTA, 27th *September*, 1829.

SIR,—

If there is any thing in the style, the matter, or the object, of this letter, which is calculated to give offence to your Excellency, I am persuaded you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolivar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments

united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the people of the United States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your Excellency has formed projects to defeat these hopes. But there is no doubt, that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change?—who will, indeed, gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That *that*, the price of their future wealth and honours, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Cæsars, in its best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you prepared to make this sacrifice, for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures, have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be necessary to convince you that no other course remained, to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the people are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European philosopher, of the last age, that "in the new hemisphere, man is a degraded being," to be renewed, and supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should, indeed, be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling always a deep interest in the success of the revolutions in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inattentive observer of events pending, and posterior to the achievement of its independence. In these events, I search in vain for a single fact to show that, in Colombia at least, the state of society is unsuited to the adoption of a free government. Will it be said that a free government did exist, but, being found inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it has been superseded by one of a different character, with the concurrence of a majority of the people?

It is the most difficult thing in the world for me to believe that a people in the possession of their rights as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and then limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French people favoured the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But, if it were so, how different were the circumstances of that country from those of Colombia, when the constitution of Cucuta was overthrown! At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the first consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France—civil war raged within her borders; the hereditary king possessed many partisans in every province; the people, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had im-

bibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles. Does the history of Colombia, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced—no civil war raged—not a partisan of the former government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory—no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the executive government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the people, in a fair election. In fact, no people ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly acquired power, than those of Colombia. They submitted, indeed, to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former government. If there was any disposition, on the part of the great mass of the people, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the government a part of the power, which, in their inexperience, they had confided to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcavala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the people would have desired to abolish these remains of arbitrary government, and substitute for them some tax more equal and accordant with republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended that they had become enamoured with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your Excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts which had induced a people, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that liberty, which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It cannot be said that life and property were not as well protected under the republican government, as they have ever been; nor that there existed any opposition to the constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the government to put down.

If the insurrection of General Paez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your Excellency, the legitimate head of the republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the republic. But, it is said, that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talents, and that, to keep General Paez, and other ambitious chiefs, from dismembering the republic, it was necessary to invest your Excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or, having acted as you did, you had been unable to accomplish any thing without them. But you succeeded completely, and there can be no possible reason

assigned, why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of general Paez, or any other general.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment, in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your Excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser, and more interested party, is for placing the government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent checks to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object; which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your Excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such councils, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to correct what is wrong in the administration, and to put down the factions, and that, when the country once enjoys tranquillity, the government may be restored to the people. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquillity will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the government itself. It was the strong remark of a former President of the United States, that, "Sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a government cease to endeavour to preserve and extend its powers." With whatever reluctance your Excellency may commence the career; with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained; when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and, indeed, of self-preservation, and it will be impossible to recede.

But, it is said, that it is for the benefit of the people that the proposed change is to be made; and that by your talents and influence, alone, aided by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, that you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I cannot conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed; to call out the strength of the country, to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and of every other republic; and is what was confided to the executive, by the constitution of Cucuta. Would your talents or your energies be

impaired in the council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as the head of a republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: 1st, in relation to the country; and, 2d, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquillity of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your Excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the people discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, that they will quietly submit to it? Will they forget the pass-word which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chaunt the songs of liberty, which so lately animated the youth to victory? Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Vargas, Bayaca, and Carebobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Bruti, Harmodius and Aristogiton; but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own Hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance of arbitrary power in your hands, will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal, may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immure them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is everything, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquillity of Colombia is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy would be preferable. Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fastened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of all governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States as the strongest, precisely because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties, equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both, it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth, would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine and the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factious that their cause was hopeless. No, sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing its tranquillity; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the people. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put in the hands of the governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to those officers the temptation, and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, cannot be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labour, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labour. To support a swarm of luxurious and idle monks, and an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers in a tenfold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry is oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the labourer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands which are made upon it, the treasury seizes upon every thing within its grasp—destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with? Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir, that the support which the government derives from both these sources, will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important inquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting systems of liberal education; and, if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame, will the pomp and glitter of a court, and the flattery of venal courtiers, reward you for the troubles and anxieties attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty, everywhere, and those which will flow from your peculiar situation? Or power, supported by the bayonet, for that willing homage which you were wont to receive from your fellow-citizens? The groans of a dissatisfied and oppressed people will penetrate the inmost recesses of your palace, and you will be tortured by the reflection, that you no longer possess that place in their affections, which was once your pride and your boast, and which would have been your solace under every reverse of fortune. Unsupported by the people, your authority can be maintained, only, by the terrors of the sword and the scaffold. And have these ever been successful under similar circumstances? Blood may smother, for a period, but can never extinguish the fire of liberty, which you have contributed so much to kindle, in the bosom of every Colombian.

I will not urge, as an argument, the personal dangers to which you will be exposed. But I will ask if you could enjoy life, which would be preserved by the constant execution of so many human beings—your countrymen, your former friends, and almost your worshippers. The pangs of such a situation will be made more

acute, by reflecting on the hallowed motive of many of those who would aim their daggers at your bosom. That, like the last of the Romans, they would strike, not from hatred to the man, but love to the country.

From a knowledge of your own disposition, and present feelings, your Excellency will not be willing to believe, that you could ever be brought to commit an act of tyranny, or even to execute justice with unnecessary rigour. But trust me, sir, that there is nothing more corrupting, nothing more destructive of the noblest and finest feelings of our nature, than the exercise of unlimited power. The man who, in the beginning of such a career, might shudder at the idea of taking away the life of a fellow-being, might soon have his conscience so seared by the repetition of crime, that the agonies of his murdered victims might become music to his soul, and the drippings of his scaffold afford "blood enough to swim in." History is full of such examples.

From this disgusting picture, permit me to call the attention of your Excellency to one of a different character. It exhibits you as the constitutional Chief Magistrate of a free people. Giving to their representatives the influence of your great name and talents, to reform the abuses which, in a long reign of tyranny and misrule, have fastened upon every branch of the administration. The army, and its swarm of officers, reduced within the limits of real usefulness, placed on the frontiers, and no longer permitted to control public opinion, and be the terror of the peaceful citizen. By the removal of this incubus from the treasury, and the establishment of order, responsibility, and economy, in the expenditures of the government, it would soon be enabled to dispense with the odious monopolies, and the duty of the *Alcavala*, which have operated with so malign an effect upon commerce and agriculture, and, indeed, upon the revenues which they were intended to augment. No longer oppressed by these shackles, industry would everywhere revive: the farmer and the artisan, cheered by the prospect of ample reward for their labour, would redouble their exertions: foreigners, with their capital and skill in the arts, would crowd hither, to enjoy the advantages which could scarcely, elsewhere, be found: and Colombia would soon exhibit the reality of the beautiful fiction of Fenelon—Salentum rising from misery and oppression, to prosperity and happiness, under the councils and direction of the concealed goddess.

What objections can be urged against this course? Can any one, acquainted with the circumstances of the country, doubt its success, in restoring and maintaining tranquillity? The people would certainly not revolt against themselves; and none of the chiefs who are supposed to be factiously inclined, would think of opposing the strength of the nation, when directed by your talents and authority. But it is said, that the want of intelligence amongst the people unfits them for the government. Is it not right, however, that the experiment should be fairly tried? I have already said, that this has not been done. For myself, I do not hesitate to declare my firm belief, that it will succeed. The people of Colombia possess many traits of character, suitable for a republican government. A more orderly, forbearing, and well-disposed people are nowhere to be met with. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that their faults and vices are attributable to the cursed government to which they have been so long subjected, and to the intolerant character of the religion, whilst their virtues are all their own. But, admitting their present

want of intelligence, no one has ever doubted their capacity to acquire knowledge, and under the strong motives which exist, to obtain it, supported by the influence of your Excellency, it would soon be obtained.

To yourself, the advantage would be as great as to the country; like acts of mercy, the blessings would be reciprocal; your personal happiness secured, and your fame elevated to a height which would leave but a single competition in the estimation of posterity. In bestowing the palm of merit, the world has become wiser than formerly. The successful warrior is no longer regarded as entitled to the first place in the temple of fame. Talents of this kind have become too common, and too often used for mischievous purposes, to be regarded as they once were. In this enlightened age, the mere hero of the field, and the successful leader of armies, may, for the moment, attract attention. But it will be such as is bestowed upon the passing meteor, whose blaze is no longer remembered, when it is no longer seen. To be esteemed eminently great, it is necessary to be eminently good. The qualities of the hero and the general must be devoted to the advantage of mankind, before he will be permitted to assume the title of their benefactor; and the station which he will hold in their regard and affections will depend, not upon the number and the splendor of his victories, but upon the results and the use he may make of the influence he acquires from them.

If the fame of our Washington depended upon his military achievements, would the common consent of the world allow him the pre-eminence he possesses? The victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and York, brilliant as they were, exhibiting, as they certainly did, the highest grade of military talents, are scarcely thought of. The source of the veneration and esteem which is entertained for his character, by every description of politicians—the monarchist and aristocrat, as well as the republican, is to be found in his undeviating and exclusive devotedness to the interest of his country. No selfish consideration was ever suffered to intrude itself into his mind. For his country he conquered; and the unrivalled and increasing prosperity of that country is constantly adding fresh glory to his name. General; the course which he pursued is open to you, and it depends upon yourself to attain the eminence which he has reached before you.

To the eyes of military men, the laurels you won on the fields of Vargas, Bayaca, and Carebobo, will be for ever green; but will that content you? Are you willing that your name should descend to posterity, amongst the mass of those whose fame has been derived from shedding human blood, without a single advantage to the human race? Or, shall it be united to that of Washington, as the founder and the father of a great and happy people? The choice is before you. The friends of liberty throughout the world, and the people of the United States in particular, are waiting your decision with intense anxiety. Alexander toiled and conquered to attain the applause of the Athenians; will you regard as nothing the opinions of a nation which has evinced its superiority over that celebrated people, in the science most useful to man, by having carried into actual practice a system of government, of which the wisest Athenians had but a glimpse in theory, and considered as a blessing never to be realized, however ardently to be desired? The place which you are to occupy in their esteem depends upon yourself. Farewell.

W. H. HARRISON.

CHAPTER XXII.

Conclusion—Character of General Harrison.

We must now review some of the ground that we have passed over, for the purpose of presenting in another point of view, the public services of the distinguished individual, whose eventful career has occupied our attention. We have more than once alluded to the integrity and distinterestedness of general Harrison; we have noticed his patriotism and devotedness to country; and we now propose to offer some proofs of the display of those qualities, in addition to the evidence afforded by his public acts.

We have seen that General Harrison never contemplated the military service as a permanent profession. When the first war for independence was terminated by the victory of Wayne, and the delivery of the British posts in the north-west, he threw aside the habiliments of the soldier, and accepted a civil office. He passed from one grade to another, enjoying successively the confidence of the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, and of the people of Ohio and Indiana. As governor of Indiana, and as superintendent of Indian affairs, for thirteen years, large sums of money passed

through his hands, to be disbursed at his discretion, and subjected to few of the checks which are now provided, under the admirable arrangement of the offices at Washington. He gave no security; nor had the government any other guarantee for the faithful application of those funds, but his prudence and honesty. That he was true to his trust, is obvious from the facts, that he remained poor, and did not become the debtor of the government. He made no speculation upon the public money, or lands.

In the expedition to Tippecanoe, he led the militia of his own territory, and a few volunteers from Kentucky, into the field, as governor of Indiana, and commander-in-chief of its militia. The command that he afterwards held on the north-western frontier, was given him at the spontaneous call of the western people. He did not seek the office nor the emoluments of a general; but willingly led his fellow-citizens to battle, sharing with them the labours, the dangers, and the honours of war, and retiring with them to private life, when the contest ceased.

As commander-in-chief, he was subjected to heavy expenses. His command was spread over so wide a territory, that he was obliged to travel incessantly, and to entertain a large suite. Nearly all his operations were carried on with militia; and the measures necessary to draw out these troops

to the field, to conciliate them while there, and to retain them in service, obliged him to maintain an extensive intercourse with influential citizens, and to receive many of them at his head quarters. Unlike the leader of a regular army, who is provided with troops and supplies, and is independent of the country, General Harrison was placed in a kind of political relation to the people, which required that he should possess their confidence and goodwill. It was requisite, therefore, that he should keep *free quarters*, for the reception of such of his fellow-citizens as visited him on business, or came to see their friends in the army. His expenses so far exceeded his pay, that he was obliged to sell a fine tract of land, during the war, to meet them; so that he not only exposed his life, and gave his labour to his country, but contributed a portion of his small estate to sustain her in one of the darkest periods of her existence.

He had purchased from the government several fine tracts of land, in Indiana, on the Ohio river, on which, under the system of sale then practised, only part of the purchase money was paid. The final payment became due while the general was on the frontier; and, for want of money to meet it, the land was forfeited. It is true that under a subsequent law, he received back the sum he had actually paid in; but this was no compensation for the loss of a body of fine land, which is now per-

what he considered an act of duty, except a few hundred dollars, being the difference between the actual value when sold, and the amount paid at the sheriff's sale. Included in the tract, however, were twelve acres, of the most valuable part, which were actually the property of Mr. Harrison, by donation from his father-in-law, and in his possession at the time of the sale under the execution, and which were improperly included in the sale, in consequence of his title not appearing of record. This he might have retained both legally and equitably; but such was his nice regard for his reputation, and his scrupulous desire to do all the justice that others were disposed to claim of him, that he agreed to receive for this portion, as well as the other, a small payment, which, with the amount for which it was struck off at the sale, would make up what was supposed to have been its value when sold. The last described portion thus relinquished, is now worth one hundred thousand dollars.

It is well known, that it has not been uncommon for gentlemen holding high offices, to avail themselves of their influence to provide for their relatives. A large number of the members of Congress, and other high functionaries, have procured appointments for their sons in the military academy at West Point, or in the navy, by means of which these young gentlemen are educated and provided for, at an early age, at the expense of the govern-

ment. Many of those who thus relieve themselves of the expense of educating their own sons, are wealthy men. General Harrison has had a numerous family, mostly sons, and has never been wealthy. He has always, since his sons have been old enough to be educated, until very lately, held offices of high grade and influence, and could at any time have procured such a favour by asking for it. He had higher claims to such patronage than most men; his father was a distinguished patriot of the revolution — he himself had fought through two wars—one of his sons was married to the daughter of the lamented General Pike, who fell in battle during the last war; and the children of this marriage became, by the early death of their father, dependent on General Harrison. But he educated his family at his own expense. It is true, that more than once, while in Congress, he formed the intention of placing one of his sons at West Point, or in the navy; but finding the applications from his own state more numerous than could be complied with, he disinterestedly waived his own claims in favour of his constituents, and procured appointments for their sons, in preference to his own. On one occasion, when his straitened circumstances, and his desire to place one of his sons in the military profession, had induced him to resolve to ask an appointment for him at West Point, a poor neighbour brought to him a fine boy, whom

he was wholly unable to educate, and begged him to place him at West Point; the general took the son of his humble constituent under his patronage, procured him a place in the military academy, and has had the satisfaction of seeing him become a valuable citizen, high in office in one of the western states.

In person General Harrison is tall and slender; his countenance is expressive of the vivacity and benevolence of his character; his fine dark eye is remarkable for its keenness, fire, and intelligence. Although from early manhood he has never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution, yet such has been the effect of an active life and temperate habits, that few men enjoy at his age so much bodily vigour, or moral energy. He seldom or never partakes of ardent spirits, and does not habitually use even wine. Equally moderate in his diet, he is emphatically a temperate man.

He is remarkably amiable in his social and domestic relations. Generous, kind, and affectionate in his disposition—mild and forbearing in his temper—plain, easy, and unostentatious in his manners, cheerful and affable in his intercourse with his friends and with strangers, easily accessible to all, and unbounded in his charities. Warm in his affections, he has never been violent, or vindictive in his enmities. Those who know him love him, and his

enemies have only been such as have been created by his political relations, or by the operation of causes growing out of party feeling. In a long life of collision with men of every class—frequently with the most fierce, turbulent, and ungovernable, we have no knowledge of his having been engaged in personal hostilities, or in a duel; and such was the effect of his mild and gentlemanly example, that not a duel was fought in the north-western army while he commanded.

The son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and reared under the eye and influence of the founders of our government, he early imbibed a deep reverence for the constitution, which has been evinced in all his public acts, through life. From the house of his father, the guardianship of Robert Morris, and the patronage of Washington, he passed into the service of his country in the companionship of Wayne, St. Clair, and other illustrious men, of that noble band who laid the foundations of our liberty. In civil office he became associated with Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and other master spirits, who, while they were among the fathers of the constitution, were also the great leaders of the democratic party. *They* professed the principles which had been instilled into *his* mind from early infancy, and which, in the mature reflection of manhood, he considered right; and he acted with the democratic party consistently and

steadily. From early associations, therefore, as well as from principle, he has retained through all the vicissitudes of his life, an ardent love, and a deep reverence for the pure maxims of the revolution; and has been in the habit of testing his political opinions by the constitution itself, and the contemporaneous expositions of its framers.

In civil office, and in military command, he was always just, moderate, and firm; avoiding violent and arbitrary measures, and preferring to govern by persuasion and argument.

The talents and attainments of General Harrison may be estimated from his writings, his speeches, and his acts. The man who would deny to him a high order of intellect, must be regardless of the evidence of history. For forty years his name has been associated with the most important transactions of our country, and the proofs of his intellectual endowments may be found on its records. The lawyer whose whole time has been devoted to the examination of a particular class of subjects, may be able to embody his thoughts on a question of constitutional or municipal law with more technical precision, and mould his language with greater art and sophistry. The trained politician, whose energies have been devoted, with unceasing vigilance, to his own elevation, who has watched the temper of the times, and the fluctuating opinions of parties, may be more expert in making or in seizing occa-

sions to display his patriotism or address. But General Harrison may be advantageously compared with any of his contemporaries as a man of abilities, and as a sound and able practical politician. His writings, which are numerous, speak for themselves: they are distinguished by clearness and facility of composition. Few men write better or with greater rapidity. In the many high stations which he has filled, he has never been in the habit of employing a secretary or any amanuensis, to write his letters, but has always performed this duty for himself. He is an animated and ready speaker, fluent in language, plain but not ungraceful in manner. We have seldom seen any one who is so prompt or so happy in an extemporaneous address. His aptitude and readiness in bringing the resources of a highly cultivated mind to bear, without apparent premeditation, upon any subject which may be presented, are singularly felicitous.

It was this rare union of ability, courtesy, and moderation, that caused General Harrison to be so much beloved by the militia whom he commanded in the war. These were the qualities that won for him the friendship of the gallant naval hero of Erie, who wrote to him in 1813, "You know what has been my opinion as to the future commander-in-chief of the army. I pride myself not a little, I assure you, on seeing my predictions so near being verified; yes, my dear friend, I expect

soon to hail you as the chief who is to redeem the honour of our arms in the north." The man whose character could extract such a compliment from the modest and unassuming Perry—himself a daring officer, a man of discernment, who, after achieving one of the noblest of the victories that grace our annals, voluntarily accompanied Harrison to the field, and acted as his aid at the battle of the Thames—the man, we say, who could extract such a compliment from such a source, must have high merits.

Another distinguished witness of the conduct of Harrison — General M'Arthur, who had served under him, wrote to him in 1814: — "You, sir, stand the highest with the militia of this state of any general in the service, and I am confident that no man can fight them to so great an advantage; and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this frontier."

General Harrison himself, on being asked how he had managed to gain the control which he always swayed over the militia, answered, "By treating them with affection and kindness — by always recollecting that they were my fellow-citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect, and by sharing on every occasion the hardships which they were obliged to undergo."

When Commodore Perry, forgetting his own recent daring, remonstrated with General Harri-

son on his exposure of his own person, in an attack made by the Indians on the army, at Chatham, shortly before the action at the Thames, and also in the battle of the Thames, the intrepid leader replied, that "it was necessary that a general should set the example."

To those who have known General Harrison, this recapitulation of his virtues and services may be unnecessary. The pioneers of the west, who have braved the elements and the battle,—who have endured hardships and privations,—will not join in the unmanly endeavour to sacrifice to the fury of party prejudice, a high-minded and highly gifted patriot, by stigmatizing him as "a military chieftain." He is now a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people—not by his own choice—not by the dictation of a self-constituted convention—not by the prompting of a midnight caucus—but at the call of the democracy of the land. The people of the west, who know the sterling qualities of the venerable patriarch of North Bend, will sustain that call, and give a pledge to their fellow-citizens throughout the union, that Harrison is the man we have represented him.

Harrison was among those who came to the frontier in those days of peril. He shared the toils, the privations, and the anxieties, of the pioneers who conquered this fair land. He led them to battle against their foes, and was triumphant. He

represented their interests on the floor of Congress, and was not less successful. Appointed their governor, he won their confidence and love by his humane conduct, his conciliatory manners, and the unwearied industry with which he discharged the duties of his office. In every situation they have found him the same. When high in civil office, he never forgot his responsibility to the people, or abused the great powers with which he was intrusted—when placed at the head of an army, he was not violent nor arbitrary. He never rashly exposed the lives of his men in battle, for the selfish purpose of winning laurels to deck his own brow. He never crushed others that he might stride into power himself. He never set aside the laws of his country, or insulted the majesty of the people in the persons of their officers. He was never prodigal of the lives or property of his fellow-citizens. He was a brave soldier, without being a violent man—an accomplished leader, without inordinate ambition—a conqueror, without forgetting the precepts of justice and mercy.

Such a man deserves the confidence of the people. The politicians may hesitate, because he owes them nothing. The leaders of parties may stand aloof, because he is not enlisted under any of their banners.—He is the candidate of the people, chosen by themselves from their own ranks, and indebted to none but them for their support. They know

him to be an able civilian, and an honest man. From all his high civil trusts, he has carried no spoils into private life. After a long life spent in the public service, he is living upon the fruits of his daily industry—a plain unassuming man, beloved and respected by all who know the goodness of his heart, and the sterling integrity of his conduct.

THE END.

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